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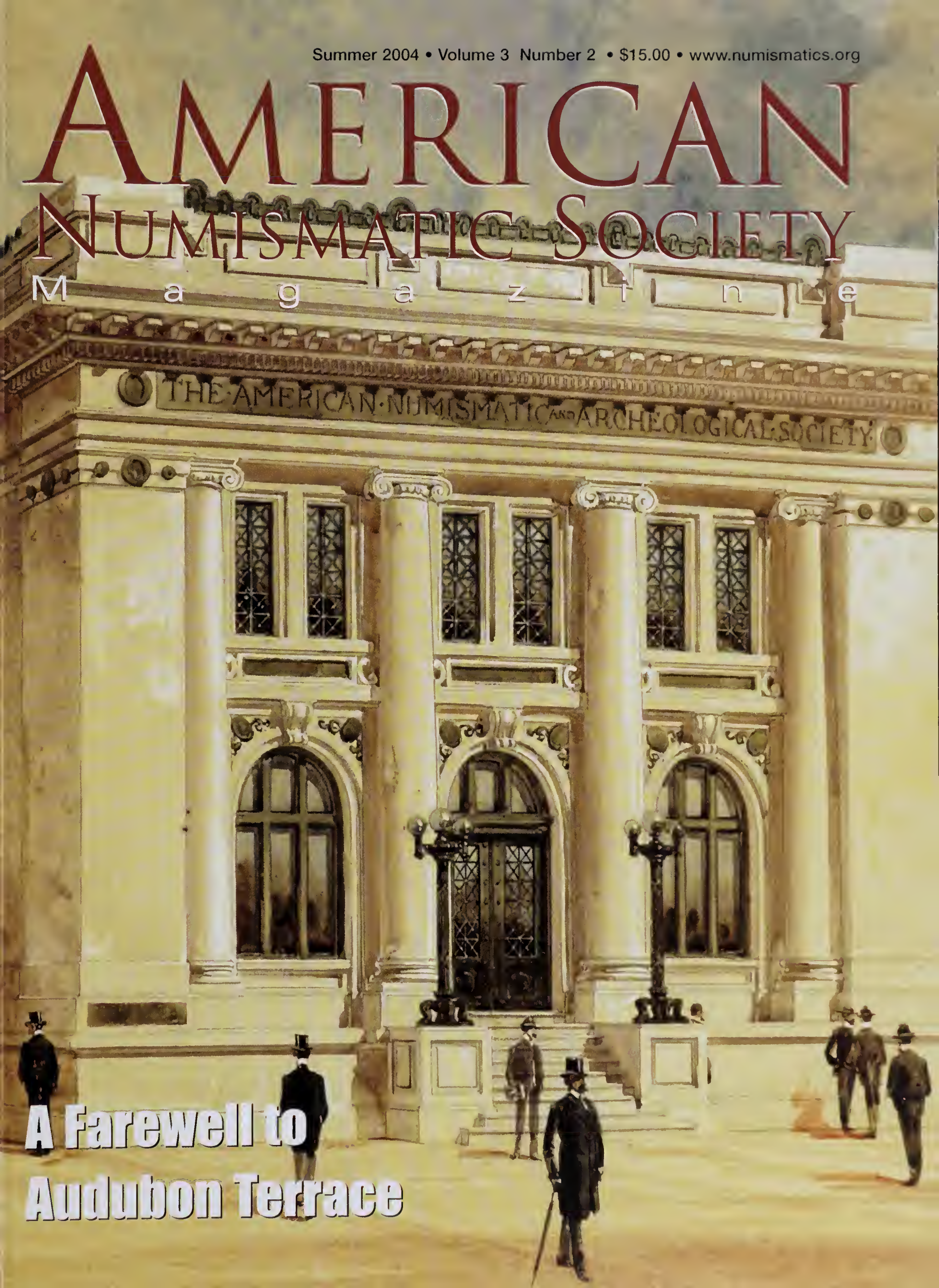
American Numismatic Society Magazine



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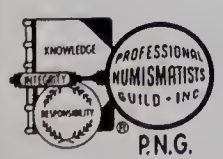

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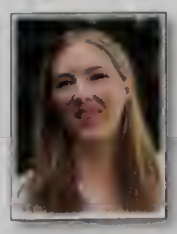

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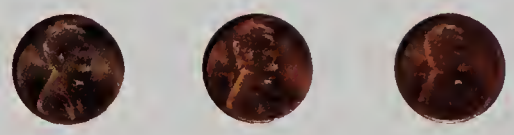

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AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
Magazine

SUMMER 2004
Volume 3, Number 2

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Painting of the ANS at Audubon Terrace c.1908 by the architect Charles Huntington.

FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
Magazine

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Dear Members and Friends,

This *ANS Magazine* is the first issue that the ANS staff wrote in their new offices in downtown Manhattan. In the middle of July the last moving truck left our building on Audubon Terrace to deliver some shelves and a few old desks to our new location on Fulton Street. Although I was very eager to see our new headquarters ready for business, I had mixed feelings when I saw room after room being slowly emptied out at our old building; a great deal had happened within those walls, and a great deal of that history had accumulated in various forms over the years. An astonishing amount of material was left after the coins and the books were all gone. There were thousands of slides, the enormous photo file of auction catalog records, paintings (some great finds, but more on this in a later issue), sculptures, and some beautiful furniture. It was not always easy to find the gems among the many fifteen-year-old computers, boxes of typewriter ribbons, and broken chairs. When all was said and done, it took over four months of almost daily moving and sorting before the building uptown was at last empty.

This summer's issue features an article by our archivist, Joe Ciccone, on the history of our old building and its neighborhood Washington Heights. Joe, who works part-time for the Society, has done an amazing job with our archival holdings, and a lot of wonderful letters, papers, and photographs are now available for perusal and research. What used to be a mass of dusty boxes and loose folders tucked away in dark corners of the old basement is now a well-organized (and well-lit!), modern archives department overseeing 500 neatly labeled containers. As our 150th anniversary is drawing closer, we plan to make use of this archival material for a new volume that will cover the history of the Society from 1958 to the present day, much in the same way that Howard Adelson's 1958 volume covered the history of the Society's first century (sadly, Prof. Adelson passed away recently; his obituary is found in this issue). Articles in this volume by some of our volunteers and interns also provide insight into the everyday work of the ANS. We are very grateful to all of them for their interest, enthusiasm and hard work.

We will not, however, rest on our laurels or catch our breath after this long, hard move. Our next big goal is to raise enough money to create a stable endowment to ensure that our new building will always be fully staffed, fully functioning, and open to serve you. I am delighted that our Board of Trustees is expanding and that some very distinguished numismatists have agreed to serve, and so are helping the American Numismatic Society begin its new era in downtown Manhattan. I am inviting all our members to join in this endeavor. It seems particularly important at a time when our national numismatic collection at the Smithsonian in Washington, D.C., has closed its doors to the general public that we at the ANS create a lasting, welcoming environment for collectors, academics, and the general public at large. I hope that we at the ANS can count on your support.

Yours truly,

The First Summer Seminar at 96 Fulton

The 51st annual Summer Graduate Seminar commenced on June 1st amidst the final stages of the move and renovation of the 96 Fulton Street building. Thankfully, the two library floors were all but finished when the Seminar began so the students were able to study in relative peace as the frantic work continued on the floors below. By the time of the June 18th Grand Opening, the students had access to the coin collection and so missed barely a step in their studies. Heeding the advice of last year's students, we extended the Seminar schedule this year by two weeks to allow more time and breathing space for the students to complete their projects. The extra weeks also allowed us to have more guest lecturers: these included Dr. Richard Stone of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA), who addressed issues of conservation and medals production; Dr. Stephen Scher, who spoke on the Renaissance coin collector and the rise of the portrait medal; Dr. Christopher Lightfoot, also of the MMA, who discussed the Roman and Byzantine coins he has excavated at the site of Amorium in Turkey; Prof. John Kroll from the University of Texas at Austin, who presented a paper on Hellenistic portrait coinage; Donald Scarinci, who introduced the students to 19th and 20th century medallic art; former ANS Trustee Rick Witschonke, who discussed cistaphoric coinage; and Prof. Roger Bagnall of Columbia University, who discussed papyri and numismatics. The students also benefited from their daily contact with our Visiting Scholar, Dr. Michel Amandry, the director of the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and from his talks on Roman provincial coinage, and Augustan and Tiberian coins from Africa (the latter was presented at the 1,147th consecutive meeting of the New York Numismatic Club, which graciously invited the students to attend and enjoy the views of Gotham from the Sky Club atop the Pan Am building).

From left: Rick Witschonke, Peter van Alfen, Cristoph Rosenmuller, Lauren Jacobi, Lea Cline, Michel Amandry, Teresa Bernheimer, Nathan Elkins, Michael Bates, Matthew Harrington, Tracene Harvey, Sebastian Heath, Elena Stolyarik, Robert Hoge.

This year's students and their projects were: Teresa Bernheimer from Oxford University (who unfortunately had to withdraw early to return to England); Lea Cline from the University of Texas at Austin, who worked on altar representations on the Augustan quadrantes of 5 BC; Nathan Elkins from the University of Missouri, who investigated the origins of architectural representation on Roman Republican coinage; Tracene Harvey from the University of Alberta, who studied the numismatic commemoration of the empress Livia on Roman coinage; Matthew Harrington from the University of Michigan, who examined the intersection of early 2nd century AD Roman literary culture and coinage; Lauren Jacobi from the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, who sought to establish the social, political, and symbolic function of the Renaissance Zecca in Rome; Dr. Cristoph Rosenmuller, visiting professor at Brooklyn College, who studied the mint, money, and political machinations in early 18th century colonial Mexico.

Heath Attends Conference and Defends Dissertation

On May 19th Sebastian Heath participated in a workshop organized as

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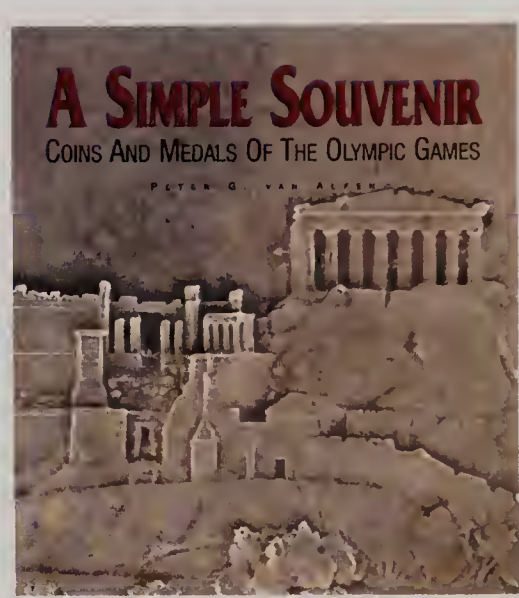
part of the launch of the International Inscriptions of Aphrodisias (INSAPH) project. One goal of INSAPH is to make the inscriptions from the city available on the web. The discussion at the NYU workshop addressed strategies for doing this while integrating contextual material from the excavations that have been undertaken at Aphrodisias since the early 1960s. Professor Christopher Ratté hosted the event which was attended by specialists in humanities computing, epigraphy, and archaeologists from France, England, and the United States.

Dr. Heath will also be presenting the paper "The Characterization of Finewares on Late Roman Shipwrecks" at the Annual Meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America, which will be held in Boston in January 2005. Primarily focussing on shipwrecks off the coast of Southern Gaul, this paper is part of his continuing research into the cultural significance of ceramic imports into that region.

Finally, on June 21st in Ann Arbor, Michigan, Dr. Heath successfully defended his dissertation "Imported Pottery and the Rural Consumer in Late Roman Mediterranean Gaul."

Van Alfen's *Simple Souvenir* Now Available

Peter van Alfen's new book, *A Simple Souvenir: Coins and Medals of the Olympic Games*, is now available from our publications distributor David Brown Books (http://www.oxbowbooks.com or call



860-945-9329; ANS members receive a 30% discount off the cover price). This richly illustrated catalogue of the current ANS Olympics exhibit at the Federal Reserve Bank, New York, explores the social and political function of Olympic numis-

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1631. Dutch Naval Victory over Spain. By Aert Verbeek.
vL.II.201/198; Betts 33; KPK.626; JMP 1953-52, Silver 49.5 mm. 41.76 grams
After the naval battle on the Slaak, Admiral d'Ocquendo left for Brazil in an attempt to capture Pernambuco. On his return journey to Lisbon in October 1631 he encountered the four ships of Admiral Cornelis Cornelisz Jol, and was subsequently defeated in battle.

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matics. Van Alfen traces the history of Olympic numismatics from its ancient Greek origins to the 19th-century Olympic revival movements, encompassing not only the well-known IOC Olympics, but also the lesser known Olympics held in Athens before 1896 and in Much Wenlock, England, as well as the Socialist Olympic movements of the 1920s and 1930s. Illustrating over 120 objects, including ancient vases and sports equipment, early 20th century posters and other ephemera, in addition to the coins and medals, the book offers a unique perspective on the Olympics and its numismatic heritage.

Barbara Bonous-Smit Becomes Assistant Professor at CUNY

Barbara Bonous-Smit has served as the ANS Assistant Librarian for the past four years. She received her Ph.D. in 1996 from New York University and her M.L.S from Long Island University in 2000. Prior to coming to the ANS she worked at New York University Bobst Library as an Information and Media Assistant and as a cataloger.

Starting in September, 2004, Barbara will be working at City University of New York (CUNY), Queensborough Community College as an Assistant Professor in the Kurt R. Schuller Library. Her responsibilities will include providing bibliographic instruction and reference service to students and faculty; maintaining the periodicals (print and electronic), including collection development, ordering, accessioning and cataloging periodicals; and act as liaison between the Library and faculty of selected departments.

Barbara has been an outstanding member of the ANS staff and will be greatly missed says Dr. Ute Warternberg Kagan ANS Executive Director. However, she plans to assist the ANS as a volunteer to help with research for documents which can be delivered electronically (full-text articles, electronic books, bibliographies, dissertations, abstracts, etc.).

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Trustees and Fellows for 2004 Nominations

Written notice will be sent to the Fellows of the Society in an Agenda for the upcoming Annual Meeting of the ANS to be held on Saturday, October 23, 2004 that:

Pursuant to, Article V, Section 12 of the bylaws, the Nominating and Governance Committee nominated the following individuals for Trustee:

Dr. Lawrence A. Adams, of Studio City, CA, has been a members since 1982, a Fellow since 1997 and a Trustee since 2001. A dermatologic oncology surgeon, Dr. Adams is a CNG consultant on Greek and Islamic gold, as well as the publisher of the *Journal of Ancient Numismatics*. Dr. Adams serves on the Finance Committee and is a Platinum Circle contributor.

Mr. Charles C. Anderson, of Florence Alabama, has been a member since 1999, a life member since 2003, and a donor. He graduated from the University of North Alabama in 1956 with a B.S. in marketing. He entered the family business, Anderson News Company, from which four separate companies emerged: Anderson Media Corporation, Anderson Press Incorporated, American Promotional Events, Inc., and Books-A-Million, Inc. He is Chairman of the Executive Committee and on the Board of Directors of each company. In 1962,

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the family began a new business, importing and publishing numismatic and philatelic items, Anderson Press, which is lead by his son Harold, the Chairman and CEO. Its subsidiary, Whitman Publishing, is the largest numismatic and philatelic distributor in the US. Mr. Anderson is the former director of two banks, a member of a number of boards and is the former president of the Alabama Numismatic Association. He has founded other companies, nationally and abroad, has given to many charitable causes and civic projects including the Salvation Army, currently serving on their national advisory board. Mr. Anderson has been married since 1953 to the former Hilda Claire Barbour. They have four sons and eleven grandchildren.

Prof. Jere L. Bacharach, is a Professor in the Department of History, University of Washington, Seattle WA. He joined the Society in 1966, and became a fellow in 1981. Elected to the Board in 1993 he served until 2000. Currently the Chair of the Huntington Medal Committee, Professor Bacharach's interests lie in medieval Middle Eastern Muslim political and economic history; monetary and numismatic history; Islamic art history including archaeology. He has edited and authored numerous scholarly books and articles, lectured at and organized conferences, and curated exhibitions. His professional activities both regional and national are extensive, serving on numerous committees and boards including, President of the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA) as well as President of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) 1999 and 2000.

Prof. Jane Merriam Cody, has been a member since 1968, a Fellow since 1987, and was elected to the Board in 2003. Currently, Prof. Cody is the Associate Dean of Academic Programs in the College of Letters, Arts & Sciences at the University of Southern California. An ANS summer seminar student in 1965, she held an ANS dissertation fellowship in 1966-1967. She is the recipient of numerous academic awards and honors, has held several editorial and advisory positions, served as a panelist on for the selection of Fulbright Fellowships in classics, NEH selection of summer stipend holders, as well as a Reviewer for the *American Journal of Ancient History* and the *American Journal of Philology*. Prof. Cody has served on several professional boards and committees as well as a gubernatorial appointee to the California Council on the Humanities. Prof. Cody has various papers and presentations on coins, the classics and philology to her credit.

Prof. Peter Gaspar, was born in Belgium, and raised in California. He earned his Ph.D. in chemistry at Yale University, and is a Professor of Chemistry at Washington University, in St. Louis, Missouri. Prof. Gaspar has been a member since 1970, a Fellow since 1975 and a Board member since 2000. A circle contributor, and conscientious donor, Prof. Gaspar serves on the Nominating and Governance Committee. He collects pennies of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, has written on the evolution of coining and die-making techniques. He has lectured at past ANS Summer Graduate Seminars and delivered a Stack Memorial lecture. He is Corresponding Member of Council for the United States of America of the British Numismatic Society, and has conducted extensive research at the Royal Mint.

Mr. Daniel Hamelberg of Champaign, IL, has been a member since 1986 and a Life Fellow since 2002. An aficionado of rare American numismatic auction catalogues and literature, Mr. Hamelberg serves on the Library Committee, and is a major donor to the Francis D. Campbell Library Chair.

Prof. Kenneth W. Harl, was a 1975 Summer Seminar Student and joined the Society that same year. A Fellow since 1991, and a Trustee since 2001 he was also the 2001 Visiting Scholar of the ANS Graduate Seminar. Prof. Harl also serves on the Personnel Committee. Prof. Harl earned a Ph.D. from Yale University, and is currently a Professor of History at Tulane University in New Orleans, LA. A donor to the Roman Provincial Coins Photography Project, he has written extensively about Roman provincial coins and in particular Asia Minor.

Mr. Reed Hawn of Austin, TX, has been a member since 1974, was elected to Fellow in 1981 and became a Life Fellow in 1982. An active participant in many civic and political arenas, he served on the Citizens Commemorative Coin Advisory Committee, and is also a breeder of Arabian horses. A Silver Circle and Gold Circle contributor, Mr. Hawn has been a dedicated donor to the Society.

Prof. John H. Kroll, born in Washington, DC, Prof. Kroll took his Ph.D. at Harvard in 1968. He attended the Society's Graduate Seminar in 1963. A Fellow and Trustee of the ANS since 1984, Prof. Kroll currently holds the Office of Second Vice-President and serves on the Executive Committee. He is Professor of Classics at the University of Texas at Austin, and a contributor and author to a number of numismatic publications. He also served as Secretary of The American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

MEMBERS NEWS

Mr. David B. Simpson, of Tenalfy, NJ, is an attorney engaged in the private practice of law since 1964. He is a graduate of Cornell University and the Columbia University School of Law. A member since 1980, and a Fellow since 1999, he was elected to the Board in 2001. Mr. Simpson is a Circle Contributor, donor to the General Fund and the Francis D. Campbell Library Chair and he currently serves on the Finance and Building Committees. He is also active in the New York Numismatic Club, where he currently serves as President.

Dr. Thomas A. Zdeblick, of Middleton, WI, became a member in 2000. A Silver Circle contributor, Dr Zdeblick became a Fellow and was elected to the Board in 2003. He is Chairman and Professor at the University of Wisconsin, in the Division of Orthopedic Surgery and the Department of Neurosurgery. He is board certified by the American Board of Orthopaedic Surgery. Among his professional accomplishments, Dr. Zdeblick was a fellow at Johns Hopkins University in the Department of Orthopaedics and Neurosurgery, Division of Spine Reconstructive Surgery. He has received numerous awards during his schooling and residency as well as for his research and teaching skills. He lectures regularly at international meetings, has published over seventy papers in peer reviewed journals, authored three books, and contributed chapters to an additional sixteen books. Additionally, Dr. Zdeblick has been heavily involved with the design and development of several of today's most advanced spinal instrumentation systems. Dr. Zdeblick's is an active member of many professional organizations including the American Academy of Orthopaedic Surgeons, American Board of Orthopaedic Surgery, American Spinal Injury Association, and Orthopaedic Research Society. He is collector of ancient Greek coins with a specific interest in coinage relating to Dionysos.

Nominations of Officers to the Society

President - Donald G. Partrick
First Vice President - John Whitney Walter
Second Vice President - John H. Kroll
Treasurer - Kenneth Lewis Edlow
Secretary - Ute Wartenberg Kagan

The Nominating and Governance Committee Also Nominates the Following Individuals to Serve as Fellows:

Mr. Victor England, of Lancaster, PA is the Senior Director of Classic Numismatic Group, Inc., (CNG). A member since 1986 and a Life member since 1995, Mr. England has been an advisor on coin purchases and is a major donor towards: Annual giving, special events, the Bass Computer Fund, the New Century Fund, etc., and a key advisor in our fundraising campaign. He is a graduate of the University of Denver with a B.A. in Economics. In 1986 he founded Classical Numismatic Auctions, which later became the cornerstone of CNG.

Mr. Jerome Haggerty, resides in Brooklyn, NY. A member since 2001, Mr. Haggerty has been a docent for the exhibits at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York since 2003. He is a Bronze Circle contributor and has given towards the

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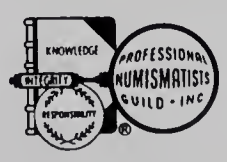

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Francis D. Campbell Library Chair.

Dr. David Menchel, a physician residing in Fresh Meadows, NY, has been a member since 1987 and a Life member since 1996. A Silver Circle contributor for years, he has also given towards the annual fund drives and the Islamic Chair Fund. Recently he lectured at the 2004 Stack Family COAC, presenting on "Betts Medals Not Included in his Canon."

Mr. Normand Pepin, an upstanding member of the New York community, joined the Society in 1981. For several years Mr. Pepin has been a devoted volunteer in the Library. His assistance, commitment and support to the Library and its staff, before, during and after the relocation to lower Manhattan is unparalleled.

Dr. Stuart D. Sears resides in Longmeadow, MA and has been a member since 1987. He has a Ph.D. in Islamic History, and is a major organizer of Islamic subject conferences at the ANS as well as a donor of the Islamic Chair Fund. Recently his research has been on the monetary reforms of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan via an ACLS/SSRC/NEH International and Area Studies Fellowship.

Mr. Lawrence R. Stack, of New York, NY. has been a member since 1977. A major supporter of the ANS, he has offered help with the fundraising campaign, has given to the Olympic exhibition and supports the recently named Stack Family COAC. Mr. Stack has been a key figure at Stack's Rare Coin Galleries, since 1973. He has formed major collections of French Ecus, Five-Franc pieces and Ecus d'Or, has an in-depth collection of Celtic, Greek and Anglo-Saxon coins. He has a long-time interest in English Hammered coinage as well as US Colonial coins, US Gold and Type coinage.

Mr. David M. Sundman, President of Littleton Stamps and Coins, Inc., Littleton, NH, has been a member since 1984. A Silver Circle contributor for years he has donated towards Special Events, Annual giving and COAC. Mr. Sundman has been given the PNG Significant Contribution Award for his consumer protection work and in 2003 was the recipient of the ANA's Medal of Merit Award.

Mr. Edward J. Waddell, Jr., has been a member since 1971 and a Life member since 1998. He is the president and chief operating officer of Edward J. Waddell, Ltd. of Frederick, MD, specializing in Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and early medieval coins. He has recently donated towards the Francis D. Campbell Library Chair.

2004 Candidate for an Honorary Life Fellow

Chester L. Krause, of Iola, WI, learned about coin and stamp collecting as a boy. After graduating Iola High School, he was drafted into the Army, serving as a mechanic and later assigned to protect General George S. Patton's 3rd Army headquarters. In 1946 he returned to Iola to work as a carpenter, but in 1952 his interest in coin collecting led to publishing the *Numismatic News*. Although he has never been an ANS member, Mr. Krause has helped the ANS. He was one of the first to support the move downtown, and through Krause Publications has offered much assistance to our various operations. It is hard to overestimate the importance that Chet Krause has had on the numismatic community all over the world.

A list of the Nominees and short biographies can also be seen on the ANS website http://www.numismatics.org

The ANS will be closed for vacation from August 23 through September 6 (Labor Day).

The Library will be closed an additional week from August 16 through September 6.

Due to heightened security and planned renovations, as of August 2, 2004, *the exhibitions - Drachmas, Doubloons, and Dollars: The History of Money and Full Circle: The Olympic Heritage in Coins and Medals* located at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York are cancelled until further notice. We are sorry for any inconvenience this may cause you.

Ya'akov Meshorer

On June 23, 2004, Ya'akov Meshorer, one of the world's leading numismatists and a recipient of the Huntington Medal, died after a long illness. As the founder of the numismatic department at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, Meshorer was one of the most influential figures in the field of ancient numismatics, not least because he wrote most of the standard books on Jewish coins.

Meshorer was born in Jerusalem in 1935 into the prominent Mani family, which has been living in the area for centuries. Always keenly tied to the history of this area, Meshorer and his twin brother Asher were keen amateur numismatists from an early age. At the age of 14, they donated their first coin to the Israel Museum. After his military service in the army from 1954 to 1956, he became a member of Kibbutz Hazerim where he married Adaya Weiss. A gifted artist, she became later a conservator at the Israel Museum. As in his childhood, Meshorer spent his free time as a hobby archaeologist, even establishing a small museum in the Kibbutz. His love of antiquity, and in particular coins then led him in 1960 to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem where he studied archaeology for several years. He received a B.A. and a M.A. in archaeology, which were followed by a Ph.D. in numismatics.

Meshorer founded the numismatic department of the Israel Museum in 1969, which he led until 1993. During these years the collection grew into the foremost collection of Jewish coins in the world. The collections of Roman, Islamic and Byzantine coins as well as other areas also became a major focus. It was due to Meshorer's extraordinary ability to convince collectors and dealers to leave or donate their collections to the Museum's holding that the numismatic department grew enormously. Meshorer would negotiate special prices for very rare coins for a collector – with the condition that the collector would turn the coin immediately over to the museum. Meshorer also served twice as Chief Curator of the Archaeological Wing of the Israel Museum, initially from 1975 to 1982, and then again from 1990 to 1996.

Meshorer taught extensively, and the considerable number of outstanding Israeli scholars in this field attest to his legacy. He was a lecturer at the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and was appointed Professor of Numismatics there in 1983.

Ya'akov Meshorer's contributions to the field of ancient numismatics are in key areas that were barely touched by scholars prior to his often ground-breaking research. In 1975, he published Nabataean Coins, still a standard work on the coins of the kingdom of Nabataea, which was based on his doctoral thesis. Numerous studies were dedicated to the Roman Provincial coins of Palestine (*City-Coins of the Eretz-Israel and the Decapolis in the Roman Period*, 1985; *The Coinage of Aelia Capitolina*, 1989), when few scholars were doing systematic research in this area. He catalogued the ANS' collection of coins from Palestine, which appeared as *SNG ANS Palestine* in 1981. His most important contributions were however in the field of Samarian coinage. These coins, which were influenced by Persian, Greek, Jewish and other Eastern designs, were hardly known until the 1990s. These tiny silver fractions were represented by a few specimens in museum collections. Thanks to several hoards and an increased awareness for these coins among coin dealers and archaeologists, the corpus of this series has grown to several hundred different types. *The Coinage of Samaria in the Fourth Century BCE* by Ya'akov Meshorer and Shraga Qedar brought them in 1991 to the attention of the numismatic community. This groundbreaking book was followed by an updated second edition in 1999 (*Samarian Coinage*). These monographs and numerous articles on the subject have opened up a fascinating field of research, which vividly illustrates the relationship between different communities in Palestine and the Near East. Apart from these specialized studies, Meshorer also wrote solid surveys and handbooks, which introduce Jewish coins and other local coins to the non-specialist. *Ancient Jewish Coinage* (1982) and *A Treasury of Jewish Coins* (2001) are excellent examples of such handbooks, which are widely used by collectors and field archaeologists alike. Additional articles on modern coins, medals, paper currency and many other coin-related objects illustrate the genuine love that Meshorer had for the field.

His expertise in numismatics and his amazing ability to engage people brought him many commissions. He was a member of the Archaeological Council of the Israel Antiquities Authority and a member of the Directorate of the Israel Society for Medals and Coins, serving on the committees that determined the design of the modern Israeli coins.

In 2001 the American Numismatic Society honored him with its highest academic award, the Archer M. Huntington Medal for outstanding scholarly achievement. Last year, he was elected a honorary member of the Council of the International Numismatic Commission.

With Ya'akov Meshorer the numismatic community has lost one of its most popular and outgoing members, who will be missed by many of the friends and members of the American Numismatic Society. Later this year, the ANS will be publishing his final book, a monumental two-volume work, in which he catalogued over 5,000 coins from the collection of Abraham D. Sofaer. ANSM

The Opening of the Donald Groves Building

BY JULIETTE PELLETIER

Friday, June 18, 2004 marked the official opening of our new building at 96 Fulton Street in lower Manhattan. Our new location has completely renovated educational and research facilities as well as a new and expanded Library on two floors. This long-awaited historic moment was celebrated by over 150 guests, who enjoyed an appetizing and ample buffet and sipped champagne and wine to the live music of the Laurent Medegli Jazz Trio. The festive atmosphere was enhanced by remarks made by Mr. Donald G. Partrick, President of the ANS, Mr. Roger Siboni, Trustee of the ANS, Mr. John Whitney Walter, First Vice President of the ANS who introduced and thanked Mr. Pete Res, Owner's Representative. Remarks were also made by a representative for the Honorable Virginia Fields as well as the Honorable Alan J. Gerson, City Council Member, City of New York, whose energetic enthusiasm for the ANS being the first cultural institution to open in Lower Manhattan since 9/11 was felt by all present. Mr. Donald G. Partrick concluded by inviting guests to tour the building. ANSM

Mr. Chris Cipoletti, ANA Executive Director & Dr. Ute Wartenberg, ANS Executive Director

Mr. John Herzog, Dr. and Mrs. Larry Adams, Mr. Thomas Tesoria

Mr. John Whitney congrotuloting Mr. Peter Res, ANS building manoger on a job well done

Ms. Katharine Siboni, Mr. Roger Siboni and Pamala Plummer-Wright

Joseph Komljenovich, Mrs. Susan Tripp, David Tripp, Ms. Margaret Carmody, Rasemary Lazenby & Mr. Garfield M

Mr. Reed Hawn, Mr. Robert Hoge and Mr. John Whitney Walter

ANS visitor researching on opening day

Mr. Ken Edlow & Mr. Kenneth McKenzie

Dr. Michael Bates, Mr. Bob Schaaf, Mr. Richard Perrecelli in the new curatorial department

Councilman Alan Gerson addressing the crowd and welcoming the ANS to Lower Manhattan

Mr. Frank Campbell, ANS Librarian with Dr. Brooks Levy and friend

Dr. Richard Stone and Dr. Jack Kroll

Mr. Donald Partrick, ANS President addresses the crowd in the new Main Hall.

Mr. Reed Hawn, Christina Lehmejian-Karaszewski, Mr. Vicken Yegparian and Mr. Larry Stack

Mr. Kenneth Cowin, Mr. Kenneth Edlow and Mrs. Mary Edlow

Mr. Stanley DeForest Scott, Mr. Ted Withington and Mrs. Withington

The ANS Bids **Washington Heights** Farewell

BY JOSEPH CICCONE

The Hispanic Society and the ANS c. 1908. Note that the original entrance to the Terrace was from 156th Street.

With its 150th anniversary rapidly approaching, the ANS has achieved what only the finest and most stubborn institutions can ever hope to attain: longevity. As with any institution that has passed from infancy to adolescence and on to adulthood, the passing years provide a well-earned prospective from which we can look back over the previous decades. Strong-willed and industrious individuals, such as former president Edward T. Newell, have defined certain periods in our past. But in our retrospection our longevity allows us also to move beyond these shorter periods of time to those more lengthy chronological divisions: the era. With our move to Fulton Street the ANS begins a new third era, following the first (1858-1907) when we had no permanent home, and the second (1907-2004) when we settled into a new building in Washington Heights. As we begin the new era and bid farewell to our old neighborhood, we retrace the history of Washington Heights and the home it provided the Society.

Washington Heights Commemorates the Revolutionary War

The area now known as Washington Heights was originally called the Heights of Harlem. The change in name occurred during the 19th century, commemorating the Revolutionary War engagement that occurred there in 1776.

During the War, Continental troops were garrisoned in the area. Due to its dramatic elevation along the Hudson River (visitors may remember the steep incline of 155th street), the Heights was a logical place to frustrate British attempts to control the Hudson. As a result, Continental forces constructed two forts on opposite banks of the River: Fort Lee on the New Jersey side and Fort Washington on the Manhattan side. Fort Washington itself was, in fact, a series of fortifications extending from today's 135th Street north to Marble Hill. George Washington's headquarters, the Morris-Jumel Mansion, which dates from the late 1760s, still exists today as one of the oldest buildings in Manhattan.

After the disasters of Brooklyn and the Battle of Long Island in the summer of 1776 and the abandonment of New York City in September, Fort Washington stood as the final bulwark against the British conquest of Manhattan. Skirmishing between the Continental and British and Hessian forces occurred throughout September, with the Continental troops holding the line. By October, however, with British troops massing and the British Navy commanding the Hudson, it was decided to withdraw the main force of Continental troops to Westchester County, leaving only a garrison in Fort Washington. The main battle for Fort Washington began on October 27, 1776. By November 16, 1776, American forces had surrendered and the Battle of Fort Washington was over, leaving General Washington to lead his ravaged army in retreat across New Jersey to its eventual encampment in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

Audubon Terrace Named After the Famed Naturalist

After the Revolution, and well into the late 19th century, the Heights remained fairly rural. In fact, it was the last section of Manhattan to be urbanized. Early in the 19th century, individuals used its rustic setting as a place of retreat from New York City, then concentrated on the southern point of Manhattan island. One such individual was Alexander Hamilton, who constructed his home, "The Grange" on the Heights in 1801, on a slight knoll at the south side of today's West 143rd Street. The estate proper extended from about 140th to 145th Streets. Hamilton would remain in his beloved estate for only three years; in 1804 he died across the Hudson River from the Heights after a pistol duel with Aaron Burr. Hamilton's home, like the Morris-Jumel Mansion, remains today in the Heights.

The Audubon Estate ("Minnie's Land") c. 1865 on the banks of the Hudson at the foot of 156th street (credit: minniesland.com, LLC).

Hamilton, however, was not the only prominent individual to call Washington Heights home. In 1841, having grown tired of New York City, the naturalist John J. Audubon purchased thirty or forty acres of land at the edge of the Hudson River. The area is now roughly bordered by 155th and 158th Streets to the south and north, with Broadway as the eastern border and the Hudson River the western.

By 1842, Audubon finished construction on his new home. The house itself was a large, square, three-story building that faced the Hudson River and was a gift to his wife, Lucy, "a fulfillment of her lifelong dream and a recompense for the years of hardship and suffering" as noted by one of Audubon's biographers. Audubon named the place "Minnie's Land." (The name was a reference to his wife; during the family's previous stay in Edinburgh, Scotland, they

The east hall (c. 1920 before the construction of the new addition) looking towards the original entrance of the ANS.

had begun calling Lucy Audubon "Minnie," an affectionate Scottish word for "mother.")

The property included a fruit orchard and enclosures for deer, fox and other animals that Audubon might be drawing. Alexander Adams states in his biography of Audubon that the naturalist liked to take "quite walks by himself, going to the point on the beach from which he could see down the [Hudson] river, or ... along the stream that ran through Minnie's Land, a stream that flowed through two pools and dropped over a five-foot waterfall that lay between them."

It was during his stay at Minnie's Land that Audubon fin-

The east hall soon after the jet-age 1957 renovation.

Who is Named on the Old ANS Building?

One of the more intriguing aspects of the 1930 addition to the ANS building was the insertion of names across the top of the building. While their association with numismatics is certain, some of the names, like Heiss and Lelewel, are rather obscure even to well-informed numismatists. Chosen by Archer Huntington himself, these names reflect in many cases Huntington's own interests and research, and his own views of which numismatists were worthy of immortalization in stone. These are:

Joseph Hilarius Eckhel (1737-1798). Eckhel is considered by many to be the founder of the science of classical numismatics. In 1774 Maria Theresa appointed him Director of Antique Coins of the Coin Cabinet in Vienna. Eckhel's major achievement is the eight-volume *Doctrina Nummorum Veterum*, in which he introduced a strict scholarly system for numismatics. In this book, the Greek coinages are classified geographically, while the Roman ones are described factually and chronologically. This type of classification is referred to as "Eckhel's Order."

Barclay Vincent Head (1844-1914). Head was Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum. His *Historia Numorum*, published in 1887, changed the study of Greek coins by studying them systematically. Head was educated at Ipswich Grammar School, entering the British Museum in 1864. He became joint editor of the *Numismatic Chronicle* in 1869, a position he held until 1910. In 1873 he began to publish the major catalogs of the Greek coin collections at the British Museum. In the end, he wrote eight of the nearly thirty volumes in the series.

Aloiss Heiss (1820-1893). Heiss was a 19th century French numismatist. He is probably most well-known for his study of Spanish coinage struck in the time of the Visigoths and during the rise of Christianity on the Iberian peninsula. He is also known for his volumes on Italian Renaissance medals.

Joachim Lelewel (1786-1861). Lelewel was a Polish historian and numismatist. His works on Polish history were collected under the title *Polska, Dzieje i Rzeczy Jej Rozpatrzywane (Poland, Her History and Affairs Surveyed)*, which were published in twenty volumes. In addition, he also wrote two important works on numismatics: the two volume La *Numismatique du moyen age* (1835) and *Etudes numismatiques* (1840).

Christian Martin Fraehn (1782-1851). Fraehn, a Russian numismatist, is credited with the creation of the interest in oriental numismatics throughout Russia and is considered the founder of Islamic Science in Russia. Fraehn wrote more than 143 publications and manuscripts and also developed the type of cataloging system that is the basis for the style used today called "Fraehn system of Islamic Coins."

Sylvester Crosby (1831-1914). In April 1869, Sylvester S. Crosby published an article entitled "The United States Cents of 1793" in the ANS' *American Journal of Numismatics*. In this article, Crosby outlined the various obverse and reverse dies used on the 1793 chain and wreath cents, which was the first analysis of an issue by die variety. This die study of the 1793 large cent was the first die study in history. In addition, Crosby also wrote *The Early Coins of America*. This one volume reference was first published in 1875 and, more than 125 years after it was written, it is still the standard reference on this Colonial coin type. ANSM

ished his work on his book *The Quadrupeds of North America* and the small edition of his seminal work, *The Birds of America*.

Audubon would die in Minnie's Land in January of 1851. Unfortunately, although the estate was a gift for his wife, Audubon did not provide adequately for his widow and children. As a result, Lucy was forced to rent the house at Minnie's Land and sell most of Audubon's original drawings to the New York Historical Society to pay off the mortgage on the house. She gradually began selling off parcels of the estate and, finally, in 1863, sold the home itself.

One of the individuals who purchased land from Lucy Audubon was George Grinnell. By the 1890s, Grinnell had purchased most of the land in Audubon Park, as Audubon's estate was known. During this period, one of Grinnell's son, George Bird Grinnell, attended a school Lucy held in her home. Influenced by her, young Grinnell became a fervent conservationist and later would propose a conservation organization, which eventually would lead to the creation of the National Audubon Society. Young Grinnell also became a major force behind the establishment of Glacier National Park in Montana.

Adolph A. Weinman posing alongside the bronze doors he designed for the American Academy of Arts and Letters (across the Terrace from the ANS), c. 1938 (collection of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York City).

Audubon Terrace and the ANS

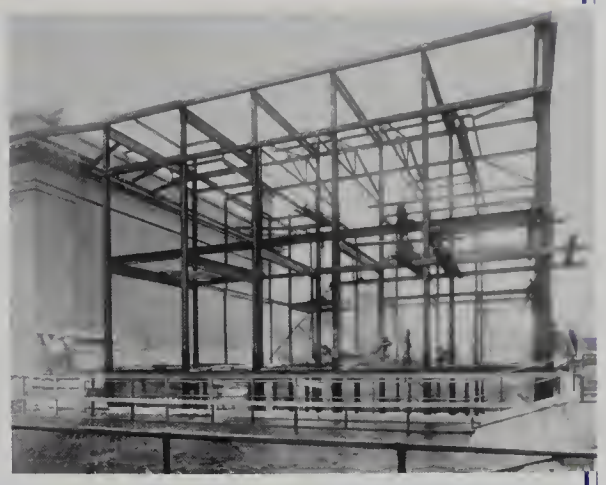
The Terrace itself began as the brainchild of Archer M. Huntington, the adopted son of railroad tycoon Collis Huntington. Upon inheriting his father's vast wealth, Huntington determined to support the arts. "Whenever I set my foot down," Huntington later commented, "a museum sprung up." Or, in the case of Audubon Terrace, several museums.

Starting in 1904, Huntington began purchasing property in Audubon Park between 155th and 156th Streets with an eye towards turning the area into a cultural center. With a keen interest in Spanish culture (his adoptive mother was from Spain), Huntington first founded the Hispanic Society of America in 1904. Two years later, Huntington offered the American Numismatic Society land near the Hispanic Society on which it could construct its headquarters. For the first 50 years of its existence, the ANS had not had a permanent home and instead bounced from one rented location to another.

Huntington's donation, however, was made conditional on two stipulations: 1) the ANS needed to begin building its facility within two years of the donation; and 2) the architectural style of the new building needed to "harmonize"

with that of the Hispanic Society. In addition, there were a series of "special conditions" which Huntington attached, which barred the ANS from conducting certain types of business on the property. Humorous from our perspective, these barred businesses illustrate just how the economy in the City has changed over the last century. They included:

"Any brewery, distillery, slaughter house, smith shop, forge, furnace, steam engine or brass foundry, nail, or any other iron factory, sugar bakery, cow stable, or any soap or candle, oil or starch, varnish, vitriol, glue, ink or turpentine factory, lamp black, or any other factory or establishment for tanning, dressing or preparing skins, hides or leather, or



The addition to the building under construction in 1929.

The Church of the Intercession And Trinity Church Cemetery

One of the most notable landmarks in Washington Heights is the Church of the Intercession and the Trinity Church Cemetery, both across 155th street from the old ANS building. These seemingly connected sites are actually separate entities.

In the 1840s, Wall Street's Trinity Church began plans to develop a cemetery and prayer chapel "out in the country" north of the city. To this end, they purchased the land on what is today Trinity Church Cemetery. At about the same time, a separate movement, led in part by John Audubon, began to establish an Episcopal church in Washington Heights. The result of these latter efforts was the erection of the first Church of the Intercession.

Both church and cemetery remained separate entities until 1908, when the church formally became affiliated with Trinity Church. This relationship would continue until the 1970s, when, again, the Church of the Intercession would become a separate entity, the result of a diocesan reorganization.

Today's Church of the Intercession was constructed between 1912 and 1915 and is considered by many to be one of the finest examples of the Gothic Revival style. In recognition of its historic and architectural significance, the church buildings were placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1980.

The cemetery itself contains the final resting place of a number of significant individuals, including John Jacob Astor, John J. Audubon, and Alfred Tennyson Dickens, the son of Charles Dickens. Another notable individual buried in the cemetery is Clement Clarke Moore, the author of "A Visit from St. Nicholas" which is better known as "'Twas the Night Before Xmas." Moore was a Bible professor at New York's General Theological Seminary and was buried in the cemetery after his death in 1863. Beginning in 1911, every year in late December, a Clement Clarke Moore Christmas Commemoration is held in the Church of the Intercession. After a candlelight service at which Moore's poem is read, there is a lantern procession to Moore's grave. ANSM

any other dangerous, noxious, unwholesome, or offensive trade or calling or business...."

Huntington would ensure compliance with the requirement for architectural harmony by arranging for his cousin, the noted architect Charles Huntington, to design the new ANS facility; Charles had previously designed the Hispanic Society's headquarters. By December 1907, within the two-year window stipulated by Huntington, the ANS was ready to move into its new home. The next year, on April 6, 1908, the Society celebrated its 50th anniversary with a special meeting in its new headquarters and, on May 13, 1908, formally dedicated the new building. Total cost for the design and construction was $55,443.24, a princely sum a hundred years ago.

The newly constructed west hall in 1930. Note the galvanos of Adolph A. Weinman's Saltus award medal hanging on the walls.

The west hall after the late-1950s renovation.

Not long after the ANS opened its new uptown doors, space in the new building was already at a premium as the coin collection and library continued to grow. After two decades, in 1928, Huntington agreed to fund the construction of an addition to the ANS's facilities to deal with the swelling collections. This new addition took two years to complete, more than doubled the size of the facilities, and cost more than $300,000. But even this addition was only a temporary fix as the staff and collections were ever expanding. Over the next 70 years, the building would be renovated internally several times to create new working and storage spaces, but there could not be any further additions due to a lack of space on the Terrace. These renovations included:

- creating a second floor above the exhibit halls and reconstructing the second floor vault in the 1950s;

View of the assistant librarian's desk soon after the 1957 renovations. Former librarian Geoffrey North, pipe in mouth, is seen talking to a reader.

• renovating the photography lab and studio in the 1960s;

• reconstructing the exhibit halls in the 1980s; and

• renovating the curatorial areas in the 1990s.

There is little question that these continual renovations created a hodgepodge of architectural styles within the building destroying its original charm; to appreciate this loss of allure one should visit the neighboring Hispanic Society building, which has left its interior–with the skylights and mezzanine–untouched.

The Museums of Audubon Terrace

The ANS would not be the last museum built on Audubon Terrace. Before Huntington was finished, four other institutions would join the ANS and Hispanic Society. Following the ANS was the American Geographical Society (AGS). The nation's oldest geographical society, the AGS was first formed in 1851 and, by the time of its arrival on Audubon Terrace in 1911, had helped sponsor the Artic expeditions of Admiral Peary and others. Subsequent to its relocation to Audubon Terrace, the AGS would also aid President Woodrow Wilson as he prepared for the Peace Conference at Versailles after World War I.

The other institutions located on Audubon Terrace included the Museum of the American Indian (Heyes Foundation), which opened in 1922, and the American Academy of Arts and Letters and American Institute of Arts and Letters, both of which opened in 1923. In addition to the museums, Audubon Terrace also hosted a church: the Church of Our Lady of Esperanza. Consecrated in 1912, the church one of the City's first for Spanish-speaking people and includes stained glass windows, a skylight and lamp that were donated by King Alfonso III of Spain in 1912.

As the ANS and the Hispanic Society acquired their new neighbors, the layout of the Terrace was altered to accommodate them as well as the new sculptural projects of Huntington's wife, Anna Hyatt. The original entrance to the Terrace was on 156th street,

behind Anna Hyatt's towering statue of El Cid and its walled backdrop. Moving the entrance to Broadway made the Terrace more secure and fortress-like, but ultimately less inviting.

Washington Heights in Turmoil

As the institutions of Audubon Terrace were being established, this area of Manhattan was just becoming linked to downtown New York City through the establishment of the IRT subway. The "Broadway-Van Courtland Park" line, as it was originally known, opened on November 12, 1904 and was completed to Dyckman Street in the northernmost part of Manhattan in 1906.

Construction of this subway line brought the first move of apartment construction to the area, with most of the apartment buildings in the neighborhood being built between 1890 and 1920. Designed in the Beaux Arts style architecture, these buildings are among the most elegant residences in the City, and included upscale-features like paneled dining rooms, electric lights, and large rooms with many windows – all in an effort to entice city residents uptown.

However, by the 1930s with the Great Depression, many of these relatively new apartments were vacant and so proved to be attractive to new immigrants. These immigrants were primarily German-Jews who fled persecution in Germany. They arrived in Washington Heights and settled among the older English population and newer Irish, Greek and Armenian groups. Of the more than 150,000 German-Jews who immigrated to the United States in the late 1930s, over 20,000 – or about one in seven – settled in Washington Heights. At the end of World War II, the Heights was the largest and most concentrated German-Jewish neighborhood in the United States, earning it the affectionate nickname, "Frankfurt on the Hudson."

Overview of Audubon Terrace in 1988.

By the late 1960s, however, Washington Heights began undergoing a rapid change in ethnic composition and social status. As the Irish and German populations aged they were replaced by African-Americans and Hispanic immigrants from the Dominican Republic and Cuba. At the same time, following downward trends in the City's overall economy, housing development declined, crime increased and businesses moved out. Gradually, Washington Heights developed a bad reputation as a crime-ridden and unsafe neighborhood; indeed, ANS members and staff experienced muggings and car break-ins, and on rare occasions (see Michel Amandry's piece in this magazine) they witnessed still more violent crimes. Despite the tremendous improvements in the neighborhood over the last decade especially, the stigma of its earlier darker past has remained. Few native New Yorkers, not to mention tourists, venture to Audubon Terrace even today; as a result the museums of the Terrace have suffered. The ANS is not the first of the Terrace residents to seek a more visitor-friendly location elsewhere in the City; in the 1980s, the Indian Museum moved to Bowling Green, to occupy Gass Gilbert's monumental Custom House near the heart of the financial district. And it seems we will not be the last to move: rumors are now circulating that the Hispanic Society has begun a search for a new location downtown as well.

Because the ANS has been tied so closely to the ups and downs of Washington Heights, the decision to leave was made with difficulty and sadness; but old institutions like ours have learned that in order to survive, radical, difficult changes are necessary from time to time. We will always remain, at least spiritually, in our old neighborhood. Because Audubon Terrace was designated a historic district by the Landmarks Preservation Commission and was added to the National Register of Historic Places, the exterior of our old building cannot be altered, whatever the future holds for the interior. The Society's name and those of prominent numismatists will remain there chiseled in stone. ANSM

Moving From Uptown to Downtown: *Some Remarks and Memories*

MICHEL AMANDRY

When I asked last year if the ANS would be willing to have me return as the Summer Seminar's Visiting Scholar—after a twenty-year hiatus—I was quite pleased at the enthusiastic response. Indeed, I wanted to be the first European scholar to take part in the Seminar in its new downtown home.

Much has changed both at the ANS and in the US since my last Visiting Scholar stint in 1984. Surprisingly this year, in the wake of 9/11, I had only to book my airline ticket to come to New York rather than fill out the reams of INS paperwork I remember from my experience in the 1980s. Although I had visited the ANS as a teenager in 1966 with my father, Pierre Amandry (a noted archaeologist and former head of the French School in Athens), and had lunch that day with the Greek coin curator Margaret Thompson, my memories of that day are quite vague. For all intents and purposes, my first taste of the ANS did not come until nearly twenty years later when I returned to New York as a scholar myself. When I arrived in June 1984, former curator Bill Metcalf was waiting for me at JFK airport to bring me into Manhattan where I would be staying at Larissa Bonfante's apartment located on the upper west side near Morningside Park (for many years Bonfante, a professor at NYU, offered her apartment to the ANS' Visiting Scholar when she left for Italy each summer). When dropping me off, Bill duly instructed me not to walk in the Park; the crime then in that part of the City was quite serious. Older now and much more familiar with NYC after countless visits since, this time I simply hailed a cab to take me from the airport to Sebastian Heath's house in Brooklyn, where I stayed a few days until my own place in Staten Island was ready. Residing in Staten Island this year has been a different kind of NYC experience—its so quiet you hardly imagine you are so close to Manhattan—and quite pleasant thanks to the new Greek coin curator Peter van Alfen and his wife Muserref, who live just two blocks away from my apartment.

In the 1984 Seminar there were eight students, a reduced number from the usual dozen or so that attended each year. It is easy now to recall their faces seeing their picture on the ANS archive's website (http://www.amnumsoc.org/archives/GraduateSeminar.html). This year there are only six students, the maximum number now, and one probably for the best since each student receives more attention as well as a larger stipend. After twenty years the staff has changed too; the librarian Frank Campbell and Islamic curator Michael Bates' faces are the only ones I recognize from twenty years ago. To be expected, some habits have changed too. In 1984, the curator in charge of the Seminar, Bill Metcalf, a diehard Yankees fan, used to take the students down 155th and across the East River over to the Bronx to watch the Bombers play. This year, the class ventured to Coney Island instead for the carnival-like Mermaids Parade, with dozens of (mostly) young, often topless "mermaids" celebrating the opening of the beaches. Certainly another view of American life!

Other changes have come with time and the move. Twenty years ago Audubon Terrace and its neighborhood were nowhere near as safe as they are today. In fact, on my very first bus ride from Columbia University to the ANS, I saw a murder victim dead and bleeding on Broadway. Once in the ANS building, we rarely ventured out except for an occasional Cuban sandwich or lunch at the old standby, Coral. Needless to say, concerns about safety or finding a good lunch are not issues on Fulton street; there are dozens of restaurants nearby, and, perhaps most importantly, sharing a bottle of good wine over lunch at Vine with former ANS Trustee and dear friend Rick Witschonke is now so much easier. Overtime too the old ANS building had become quite disorganized, with the library scattered across several floors and hidden in various small rooms; having the photo file in the basement was also an inconvenience when one wanted to compare coins with the file record. The layout of the new headquarters is so much better: the library is better organized and accessible (and well lit!); the curators, coins, and photo file are all together on one floor.

Of course, the first weeks of the Seminar this year were a bit chaotic as the move was still going on along with the work on the building. In addition to studying coins, one could also study the mechanics of elevators by watching a worker assemble one over the course of two weeks, or could study air conditioners, computerized security systems, or even the principles of leverage as large pieces of furniture were hoisted and manhandled between the floors. All in all, whatever chaos and disruptions there were this year, they were certainly easier to handle than a dead body on Broadway! ANSM

FROM THE COLLECTIONS MANAGER BY ELENA STOLYARIK

The Big Move

A year ago, in the summer 2003 issue of the *American Numismatic Society Magazine*, I wrote an article entitled "What It Takes to Move a Collection of over 1 Million Objects." At that moment, I was not sure how to finish such a complex task. Today, however, I know the answer and can give advice (solicited, or not) to anyone attempting to repeat our "feat."

Anyone who has ever moved knows how stressful it can be. And moving this large, valuable, and in many cases irreplaceable institutional collection is like moving every day for weeks on end! In the months it took actually to transport the collections, my colleagues and I often had nights filled with dreams of the tools (bubble-wrap, ethafoam, tape, seals, box-cutters) of our new trade (packing, sealing, stacking, unpacking).

Since the purchase of the Fulton Street building was announced, those members familiar with Audubon Terrace proposed varying scenarios to the ANS staff for moving the collections – with suggestions ranging from practical to fanciful Jules Verne- inspired scenarios—some stealthy, some grand; from affordable to, well, less so.

One thing was clear: getting the collections out of Audubon Terrace was going to be more difficult than getting them into Fulton Street. The ANS at Audubon Terrace comprises two buildings erected ca. 1907 and 1930. The main entrance faces north onto Audubon Terrace, and moving the collections from the Greek and Roman vaults involved crossing a distance of approximately 450 feet to Broadway, including two Terrace staircases (fourteen steps down/seven up), for a total of twenty-one steps. To move another large part of our collection from the main vault to the main Terrace entrance we would have had to add to this calculation an additional twenty steps down to the lower level and also an additional twelve

1: Alexandra Halidisz and Aviva Gray; 2: Normand Pepin; 3: Robert Wilson Hoge; 4: Andrew Schloss; 5: Sophia Gofman, Elena Stolyarik and Alexandra Haldisz; 6: Peter van Alfen and Sebastian Heath; 7: Rick Witschonke and Elena Stolyarik

steps down from the upper level within that vault (statistics provided by ANS invaluable volunteer and member Normand Pepin).

The service entrance on the south side, our alternative, faces a steeply sloping 155th Street and can be reached either on multiple stairs via a narrow semicircular staircase, or via the easier route through the building's on-site superintendent's apartment. This was the route ultimately chosen. (To move collections out though upper-story windows was rejected as too impractical.) Because of all the steps and space limitations, forklifts and other mechanical equipment could not be used. This meant employing manpower exclusively. After much deliberation, a basic system was devised and the needed material procured. In the end, wooden cases were built, each just large enough to hold about ten trays and weighing fifteen pounds empty (and when loaded with coins or medals, twenty to eighty pounds, depending on contents). Each case would be carried by two men holding one of two handles bolted to the side of each case. Since the move would be spread over many days (and weeks!) we could use 150 multi-use cases instead of 1500 or so single-use boxes.

On the appointed days, carried by two men one-by-one, each case would wend its way from its vault of origin though the building—and the apartment—to 155th Street and be loaded into the moving company's truck for the ride downtown via either the West Side Highway or FDR drive, with an unmarked car full of armed detectives right behind. Meanwhile, at Fulton and William streets, another group of detectives were taking their positions and waiting for the "items" to arrive. Once in front of the building, unloading was fast and efficient. Again came the cases, one-by-one, carried by two men into the building, up a short ramp to one of two waiting elevators to our new coin room and vault.

In the new vault the process was reversed: check each case against the inventory list, break the seal, remove the packing foam, remove tape and further ethafoam, place the trays into their new permanent coin cabinet, and remove the next tray until the carrying case is empty. Repeat, again and again... The Monday, Wednesday, Friday delivery schedule, and the goal of maintaining a steady number of cases per trip, meant that both packing and unpacking continued on weekends and over the Memorial Day holiday. The weather was never a factor, though the closing of Fulton Street for a Flag Day parade postponed all deliveries.

8: Dawn Benett; 9: Michael Bates; 10: Sophia Gofman; 11: Jerry Jagernauth and Garfield Miller.

Over the last several months, we could not take advantage of the museum's closure to leisurely pack all the trays for the move before the movers arrived. The movers had thought that on the appointed day they would transport the collection downtown in one fell swoop and that would be that! But indeed, one of the reasons for the ANS' move was lack of space within the vaults. Once out of their highly space-efficient coin cabinets, the coin trays would be in the aisles in their custom-built carrying cases and, unlike materials from the library and other parts of the building, the coin cases could never leave the vaults until the very last minute (for obvious reasons). This meant that very little work could be done ahead of time—so little, in fact, that the ANS staff and volunteers were often packing trays in the morning, hopping on the subway to Fulton Street at lunchtime and unpacking the same trays that afternoon. Staffing levels and location varied depending on factors such as time of day and day of the week.

ANS Fellow, good friend and loyal volunteer Ted Withington, who devoted a lot of time to this move, joked that we could now write a monograph complete with step-by–step instructions on how to move

a museum collection. Here are some samples:

- Remove coin tray from cabinet, put on table
- Place one sheet of ethafoam on tray, and tape edges.
- Slide tray into carrying case
- Repeat nine times or until no more trays can fit.
- Fill in any gap between top of top tray and inner top of carrying case with ethafoam, plywood or other materials.
- Record all tray numbers
- Close and seal carrying case, and record seal number and case number.
- Repeat, repeat, repeat....

From time to time we tried to improve our packing-unpacking process. At first, everyone was highly cautious and the first trays had a gift-wrapped look, as NO space was left un-taped. There was no way to be sure, until the plan was put into practice and the first batch of trays was unpacked, that we would know whether our methodology was sound. Eventually confidence grew, a routine and rhythm were established and what didn't work or seemed superfluous (mostly, too much tape) was cut out enabling us to maximize output safely.

With fond memories of our teamwork and long hours working feverishly together, I expressing deep gratitude to my colleagues: the ANS curatorial staff, Robert Hoge, Peter van Alfen, Michael Bates, Sebastian Heath; our assistants, Dawn Bennett, Alexandra Halidisz, Sophia Gofman, and Aviva Gray; intern Andrew Schloss (University of Rochester) and Summer Seminar student Lauren Jacobi (Institute of Fine Arts, NYU), Pamala Wright, Director of Development, Juliette Pelletier, Membership and Development Manager, and Muserref Yetim, Editorial Assistant. Special thanks go to our volunteers—Rick Witschonke (former member of our Board of Trustees), who had to drive more than an hour from his home, and Ted Withington (long-term ANS helper), who called me nightly to find out what building to report to the next morning. I would like also to pay tribute to Normand Pepin, who worked very hard to help safely move the ANS Library; his book-packing talents were greatly esteemed by the moving company workers, who offered to hire him! Normand, however, preferred spending his "free time" with the curatorial department team and helping with our packing and unpacking.

12: Lauren Jacobi; 13: Juliette Pelletier; 14: Ted Withington; 15: Muserref Yetim

There were many bumps, bruises, cuts and scrapes; obstacles to overcome and problems to solve. Though tempers occasionally flared, the goal pulled us through. Sometimes complicated situations gave us pause, and aggravations, but all of us fulfilling our personal assignments with great patience and diligence helped the ANS in this very historic moment. So now we are delighted to report to our members and friends that WE DID IT!!! Visit us at our new location, where one of the oldest research institution and museums in the country continues its illustrious history. ANSM

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LIBRARY NEWS

BY FRANCIS D. CAMPBELL

From Audubon's Terrace To Fulton's Market

Although it has taken a while and involved the packing of more book cartons than we care to remember, the move to 96 Fulton Street is now complete. The first moving vans (i.e., *The Padded Wagon*) began the trek to Lower Manhattan in mid-April and by the first week of June had transported the entire Library, which is now installed on floors five and six of the new building. Assisting with the move, at both the old and new buildings, were Assistant Librarian, Barbara Bonous-Smit and Library Assistant, Kary Collado. Deserving special mention, is the assistance provided by ANS member, Normand Pepin, whose efforts contributed substantially to the success of the overall move.

Awaiting van

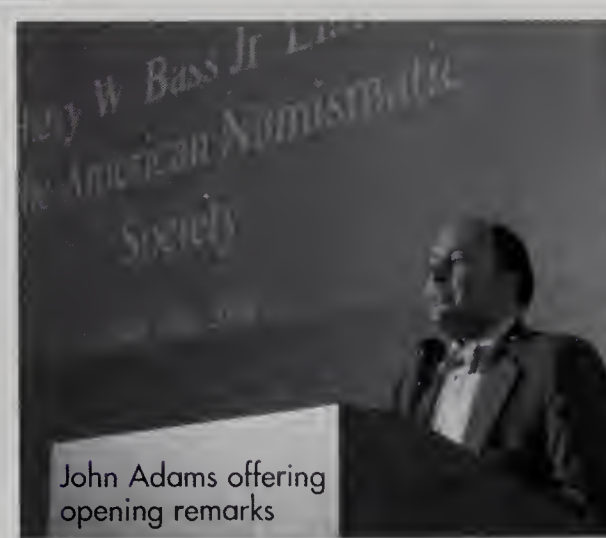
In the week following the Society's June 18th Grand Opening ceremonies, visitors began arriving to share the reading rooms with the students enrolled in this year's Graduate Seminar. The Seminar students had been using the Library's research facilities since June 1st. Although permanent signage is not yet installed, readers have been able to find what they want using the temporary section labels affixed to the end of each range of shelves. These will eventually be replaced with permanent signage and it is our intention to display the names of donors who have thus far participated in naming opportunities for Library rooms, sections and shelves. The Library Committee and its Chairman, John W. Adams, have been very active in this regard.

Waiting to exit

Arrival at new home

Ford Reading Room Dedicated

As was mentioned at the ceremony for our recently dedicated Harry W. Bass, Jr. Library, held on December 2nd, the Library is a work in progress and it is due to the support of the Bass Foundation and many others who share a concern for the Library that real progress is being made. Our most recent dedication ceremony was that held for the naming of The John J. Ford, Jr. Reading Room. While the Reading Room will certainly serve to memorialize John Ford's name, it should be noted that the Library holds a resource that provides perhaps greater evidence of his talents as a coin dealer and expert on various aspects of United States numismatics. The resource I refer to is the New Netherlands Coin Company Archive. In 1950, Charles Wormser invited John to join him in running the New Netherlands firm, which had been founded in the 1930s by Moritz Wormser, Charles' father. Within two years, John was a full partner and



John Adams offering opening remarks

helped build New Netherlands into one of the most successful American auction firms. Although John published articles in various numismatic journals over the years, even winning the ANA's Heath Award for his 1957 piece entitled, "Wayte Raymond, the Man and the Era," the catalogs he prepared for New Netherlands will serve as a lasting tribute to his research and descriptive skills. Whether your personal favorite is the 1952 ANA Convention catalogue or New Netherlands' 60th sale of December 3-4, 1968, you will find John Ford at his best.

John's love of coins and books brought him into contact with most of the great dealers and collectors of his era. The Stack family, Charles Wormser, Wayte Raymond, Walter Breen, who he brought to work at New Netherlands, B. Max Mehl, the Norwebs, F.C.C. Boyd, Douglass Ball, Homer Downing, T. James Clark, and Louis Eliasberg are but a few of the names. He had a personal library of some 4,000 books, periodicals, catalogs, and correspondence. Fortunately for me, when he moved to Phoenix much of his library remained in boxes. Had this not been the case, I might well have missed the chance to have regular conversations with a truly original personality.

I came to know John well after he moved to Phoenix when he would occasionally call to have a reference checked or to request a photocopy. During these calls John would invariably share with me his memory of some personality or some event he had been part of in the course of his successful career as a coin dealer. John's descriptions brought the personalities and events to life. In the mid-1990, when I took ill and had to spend a while in the hospital John was quite solicitous about my health at a time when he was himself suffering from cancer. This is a side of John Ford's personality that I will always remember.

The dedication ceremony, which was well-attended by members of the Ford family and numerous guests, provided the opportunity for old friends to reminisce about John's career and inspect the room that will bear his name.

The ribbon cutting

The Ford family

Librarian Frank Campbell introducing the Library to the dedication attendees.

Auction Reminder

On August 19th, during the ANA Convention in Pittsburgh, we will be conducting a donated book auction to benefit the Francis D. Campbell Library Chair. It will be held at Tambellini's Restaurant (easy walking distance from the ANA Convention). Cocktails will be served at 5:15pm, followed by a dinner and the auction. Tickets are $50.00 each and reservations can be made by writing or e-mailing to John Adams, 60 State Street, 12th floor, Boston, MA 02109. ANSM

ARCHIVIST'S NEWS

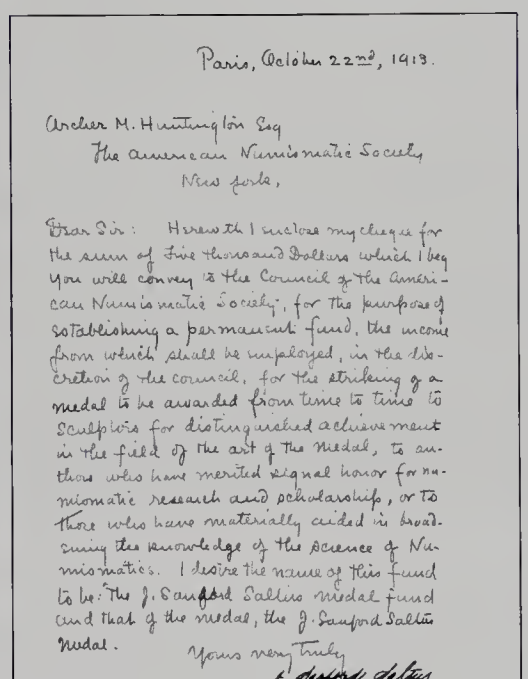
BY JOSEPH CICCONE

Archives on the Move

I am thrilled to report that we have completed the transfer of archival records from 155th Street to our new home on Fulton Street. In the past three months, we have searched high and low in our old headquarters and managed to locate more than 500 cubic feet of historical records. (A cubic foot is about the equivalent of a standard storage or banker box.) These records were stored throughout the old building, sometimes in less-than-ideal conditions. We then supervised the transfer of these records downtown, where they now reside in acid-free containers organized according to subject. Our efforts in this regard have been ably assisted by Aviva Gray, who has been working with the archives and curatorial departments since February, and our summer intern, Katherine Siboni. (To learn more about Katherine's experiences from her own perspective, see her piece in this issue.)

Archival records stored in the sub-basement at 155th Street.

Katherine Siboni, left, and Aviva Gray, right, in the new archives room at 96 Fulton Street.



Paris, October 22nd, 1913.

Archer M. Huntington Esq
The American Numismatic Society
New York,

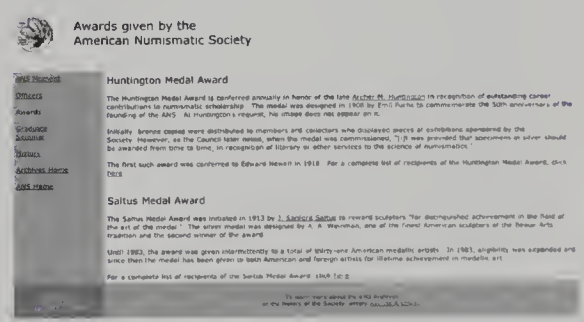
Dear Sir: Herewith I enclose my cheque for the sum of Five thousand Dollars which I beg you will convey to the Council of the American Numismatic Society, for the purpose of establishing a permanent fund, the income from which shall be employed, in the discretion of the council, for the striking of a medal to be awarded from time to time to Sculptors for distinguished achievement in the field of the art of the medal, to authors who have merited signal honor for numismatic research and scholarship, or to those who have materially aided in broadening the knowledge of the science of Numismatics. I desire the name of this fund to be: The J. Sanford Saltus Medal fund and that of the medal, the J. Sanford Saltus Medal.

Yours very Truly
J. Sanford Saltus

Letter from J. Sanford Saltus to Archer Huntington, endowing the Saltus Award Medal, November 1913.

With the move now complete, we have begun processing the various collections. One of Katherine's responsibilities has been to inventory the earliest boxes of correspondence. These date from 1858 and include the invitation to the Society's first meeting, but multiply significantly starting in the early 20th century. Among the many intriguing finds revealed by Katherine's inventory is a series of correspondence between the Society's staff and J. Sanford Saltus. These letter document Saltus' efforts to invigorate the Society's medal program through the sculpting of medals for memorable occasions like the visit of the Prince of Wales to the US in 1919 and the endowment of a medal award for distinguished achievement in the field of the art of the medal.

Much of this initial inventory should be complete by the early fall, after which we will begin to enter this information into a database we are currently designing and eventually intend to place online as part of the archives' website.



Awards given by the American Numismatic Society

Huntington Medal Award

The Huntington Medal Award is conferred annually in honor of the late Archer M. Huntington in recognition of outstanding career contributions to numismatic scholarship. The medal was designed in 1908 by Emil Fuchs to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the ANS. At Huntington's request, his image does not appear on it.

Initially, bronze copies were distributed to members and collectors who displayed pieces at exhibitions sponsored by the Society. However, as the Council later noted, when the medal was commissioned, "it was provided that specimens in silver should be awarded from time to time, in recognition of literary or other services to the science of numismatics."

The first such award was conferred to Edward Newell in 1918. For a complete list of recipients of the Huntington Medal Award, click here.

Saltus Medal Award

The Saltus Medal Award was initiated in 1913 by J. Sanford Saltus to reward sculptors "for distinguished achievement in the field of the art of the medal." The silver medal was designed by A. A. Weinman, one of the finest American sculptors of the Beaux Arts tradition and the second winner of the award.

Until 1983, the award was given intermittently to a total of thirty-one American medallic artists. In 1983, eligibility was expanded and since then the medal has been given to both American and foreign artists for lifetime achievement in medallic art.

For a complete list of recipients of the Saltus Medal Award, click here.

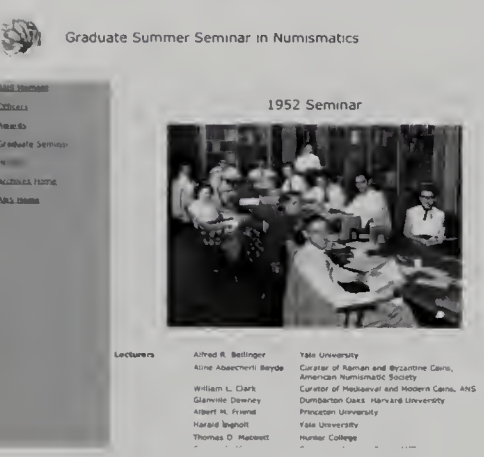
ANS awards program history homepage.

Web Site Enhancements

As I mentioned in my last column, we have established a website for the ANS Archives at www.amnumsoc.org/archives/. At the time of its launch, the site contained basic descriptive information about the archival program, as well as a listing of former and current

ANS officers.

Since the last issue we have added two more resources to this site. The first is a history of the Society's awards program. It is located at www.anumsoc.org/archives/awards.htm. This section includes a brief summary of the two awards that the Society confers, the Archer M. Huntington and J. Sanford Saltus Medal awards. In addition, it provides a complete list of the winners of each of the awards.



1952 seminar webpage.

The second resource is a history of the Society's premier educational program, the Graduate Summer Seminar in Numismatics. This resource, which is located at www.amnumsoc.org/archives/GraduateSeminar.html, allows visitors to review the history of the Summer Seminar and learn who attended and/or lectured in any given year, as well as view images of the participants. We plan to further enhance this site within the next few months with the addition of an online database of student papers. We have already designed and populated this database and shortly plan to create the user interface.

Margaret Thompson, 1978.

Integrated into both new resources is biographical information on significant ANS officers and staff. For instance, visitors interested in learning more about either Archer M. Huntington (ANS President, 1905-09; Honorary President, 1922-55) or Margaret Thompson (ANS Chief Curator, 1969-79), merely have to double-click wherever their names appear in the new sections. Visitors will then be hyperlinked to brief biographical statements for each. During the next few months we plan to significantly increase the number of such online biographies. ANSM

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Impressions of an ANS Volunteer

BY RICK WITSCHONKE

Last year I retired after a 30-year career in the field of technology consulting, and decided to spend some of my new-found free time doing volunteer work at the ANS. Since January, I have spent an average day a week at the Society, and have been having a wonderful time.

Rick Witschonke and Michel Amandry

Since childhood, I've collected coins, specializing in the Roman Republic, and the provincial Roman coinage of that era. I've been a Fellow of the Society for many years, and served for several years on the Board. I got in touch with Sebastian Heath, ANS Director of Information Technology, and he suggested I help out with the creation of digital images of the Society's collection for the online database, a massive and important project. Since the Roman Proconsular cistophori are one of my interests, Sebastian suggested we start with those. So, on January 27, 2004, I came in to the Society, and Sebastian patiently introduced me to the mysteries of capturing images using the Society's Nikon digital camera, and then using *Photoshop* to enhance the images and make them web ready. The process is much more complex than I had expected (over 100 separate steps for each side of each coin), and on the first day it took me five hours to process four coins! Since then, we have begun using the Epson scanner, which gives results almost equivalent to the camera for most coins, and has the advantage of enabling you to capture eight images at a time. As a result, I was able to get my productivity up to eight coins per hour, a big improvement.

As a collector, the rather tedious task was lightened by being able to enjoy and appreciate the coins themselves. The riches of the Society's collections are legendary, and it was fascinating to see first-hand coins that had been donated by famous collectors, or tickets written by Edward T. Newell and other early curators for coins they had wisely purchased in the 30's and 40's. Since I knew the coinage, I was able to add attributions according to Stumpf's recent reference on the series. I discovered that Stumpf's number 11.a (supposedly a specimen in the ANS trays) is actually an electrotype of the British Museum specimen (clearly marked as such). And I discovered a unique cistophorus of Hieropolis that Newell had donated, which I subsequently found had been published in 1950 in *Museum Notes* by Sydney P. Noe.

Then, in late April, the focus of the entire curatorial staff turned to the move from Audubon Terrace to Fulton Street. Elena Stolyarik, ANS Collections Manager, asked me if I would be willing to help with the move, and I gladly signed up. I was asked to help in packing some of the hundreds of trays of plaster casts of ancient coins that ANS curators

have accumulated over the years to do the many die studies of ancient coinages that are so important to the advancement of knowledge of these series. While carefully wrapping these fragile artifacts of decades of numismatic scholarship, I was overwhelmed by the amount of work which must have been involved in producing a single die study. For example, the large cabinet containing the casts for Margaret Thompson's die study of the New Style coinage of Athens contains about 3000 casts, collected over a period of years through correspondence with curators of collections all over the world (or personal visits to the collections). Then each cast was studied, and a die-linked sequence of the issues constructed (enough to blind a normal human). Then, the chronological conclusions were drawn, the text written, and the catalogue published. But, since it is impossible to publish photographs of every specimen (or even every die) in the finished work, the cabinet of casts represents the audit trail of the work done by the scholar, and the starting point for any future student of the series. Thus, the casts, even though not actual coins, have tremendous scholarly value in themselves, and must be carefully preserved. This is one of the things that the ANS does so well.

Another side benefit of assisting in the packing was that I got to explore the labyrinth of the old ANS building. I was familiar with the exhibition rooms, the Library, and the Greek and Roman vaults, but had never seen the two-story upstairs vault, or many of the subterranean rooms. I even discovered that the building actually included living quarters for some of the staff. And I got to see the fabled "swimming pool", a large room which extends out under Audubon Terrace, and apparently had a tendency to flood.

Then, in late May, the actual move of the collections began in earnest. Elena had done a marvelous job of planning the move, including the design of specially-constructed wooden boxes to hold the trays, and an elaborate security procedure to ensure that every tray could be accounted for. And, for the entire period of the move, she was the field general, commanding the troops, and making sure the move went smoothly. The fact that we were able to move 700,000 specimens without misplacing even one item is testimony to her planning and execution skills (and a lot of hard work by the entire staff, the volunteers, and the moving company).

The packing and unpacking of the trays gave me a unique view of the diversity and depth of the Society's collections. I saw samplings of the Greek trays, plus Oriental, Islamic glass weights (a real challenge to pack, but we didn't break a single one), antique coin scales, Goetz medals, modern Latin American, war medals, Swedish plate money, and even wooden nickels. And, even though the work was quite physical, the camaraderie among the staff made the whole experience very pleasant.

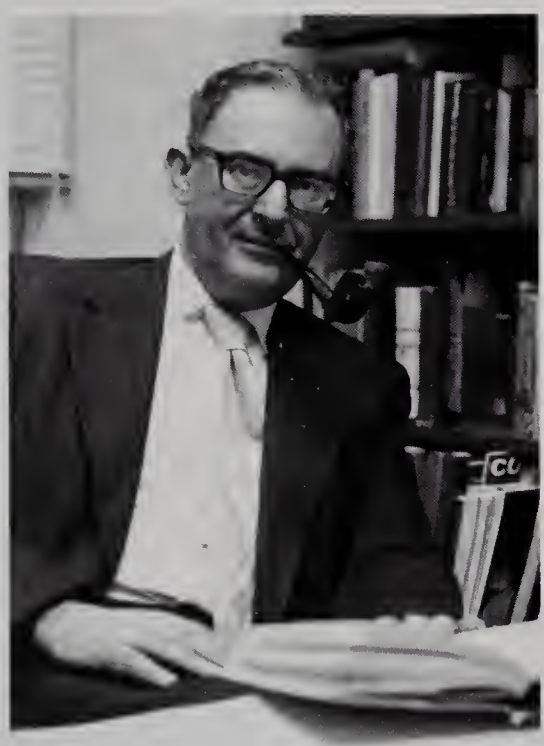
We were able to finish the move just in time for the beginning of the ANS Graduate Student Seminar, and this was particularly enjoyable for me, since Michel Amandry, of the Cabinet des Medailles in Paris is the Visiting Scholar this year, and he is an old friend. Peter van Alfen, ANS Curator of Greek Coins, who runs the Seminar, asked me if I would do a presentation to the students on the Roman Cistophori. I immediately accepted Peter's kind invitation, and began spending time in the Library, doing research for my paper. This was the first time I had used the ANS Library extensively, and I can't tell you what a pleasure it is to have such easy access to the finest numismatic library in the world. Sitting at a table in the library, you have virtually every book, article, and journal that you could possibly want within 20 feet of you, and they are arranged in such an intuitive, user-friendly way, that you can easily find what you want within seconds, without having to even consult a catalogue. Frank Campbell, the ANS Librarian, and his staff deserve tremendous credit for maintaining such a valuable and accessible resource, and for getting the entire library moved to the new building and organized in time for the Seminar.

Finally, a note on the ANS staff. I have thoroughly enjoyed getting to know all of the curators, and their excellent assistants. Their friendliness, openness, and willingness to help me with any problem have made my time at the ANS delightful. I look forward to continuing to work with them. ANSM

Howard L. Adelson

BY JOSEPH CICCONE

Howard Adelson, chronicler and Fellow of the ANS, died on December 5, 2003. He was 78 years old. Born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1925, Dr. Adelson received his B.A. from New York University before serving in the Army during World War II. After the war, he earned a M.A. degree from Columbia University and then began studying at Princeton. However, his efforts were once again interrupted when he was called to serve in the Korean War. After that war, he earned his second Masters degree and Ph.D. at Princeton University. Subsequently, he was appointed Professor of Medieval History at the City College of New York, where he also led the Ph.D. program in medieval history.



Dr. Adelson became a member of the ANS in November 1951. He initially worked in the editorial department, where he worked first as Assistant Editor from 1953 to 1956 and Associate Editor from 1956 to 1963. During this period, he also served as a lecturer for the Society's Graduate Summer Seminar, a role that expanded in 1963 when he was named Director of Studies for the ANS. For the next three years, he would coordinate programming for the Summer Seminar.

Dr. Adelson made one of his most significant contributions to the ANS in 1958, when he wrote the Society's centennial history, *The American Numismatic Society, 1858-1958*. This work is still the leading source for information on the history of the Society.

In 1996, Adelson was named an ANS Fellow and in 2001 a Life Fellow.

In addition to his numismatic pursuits, Dr. Adelson also played an active role in Jewish affairs. He served as the National President of the United Zionist Revisionists of America, President of the Tel Hai Fund, a Director of the Jewish National Fund, a Director of the United Israel Appeal, and as a member of several World Zionist Congresses, and a delegate to the World Jewish Assemblies. He was also a participant in several of the International Conferences on Soviet Jewry beginning with the first held in Bruxelles. In addition, he was also a member of the International Board of Governors of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, a member of the Board of Overseers of the Rothberg School for International Studies of the Hebrew University, and a member of the Associate Board of Directors of the Brookdale Hospital Medical Center and Co-Chairman of the American Academics for Israel's Future. He is also a regular columnist for *The Jewish Press*, commenting upon Jewish affairs, Israel, and international relations.

Professor Adelson was honored on a number of occasions. In addition to his ANS Fellowship, Dr. Adelson was a Fellow (honoris causa) of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, a recipient of the Jabotinsky Centennial Medal from Prime Minister Begin, a recipient of the Brookdale Medal from the Brookdale Hospital Medical Center, and a National Fellow of the Explorers Club. He also received the Humanitarian Award by the Kings County Council of the Jewish War Veterans and Medal of Freedom by the Barzel Society of the National Conference of Shomrim Societies

Dr. Adelson is survived by his son, Mark, and daughter-in-law, Margie. He also leaves behind his daughter Sarah, son-in-law Curtis, and grandson Jonathan. ANSM

Obituary for the Belgian Franc:

Belgium's Post-War Political Landscape Reflected Through its Coinage

Part I: Crisis in the Monarchy

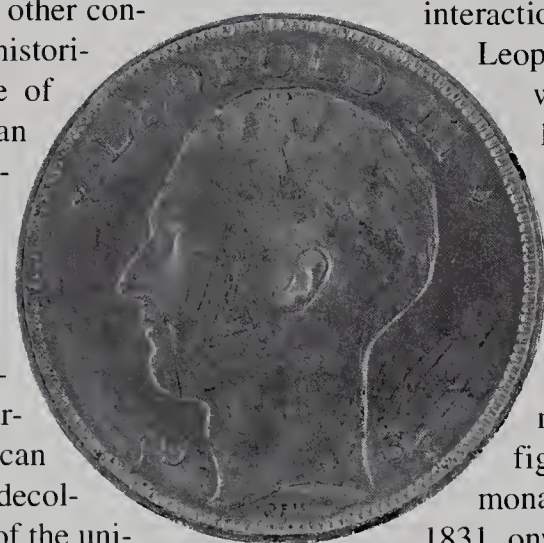
BY ANDREW SCHLOSS

At the birthplace of the Euro, there is little nostalgia for the Belgian Franc. Unlike the Germans or French, who still mourn the loss of their beloved marks and francs, Belgium was all too ready to dump their faithful currency in favor of a vision of a united Europe. The Belgian Franc may have always played second fiddle to its southern neighbor (after all, it couldn't even stand on its own two feet, always being proceded by the modifier "Belgian") but if nothing else it had a visage that was remarkably reflective of the nation it served. Spanning only 175 years, the coinage of modern Belgium comprises a short series when compared to its neighbors. Nevertheless, coins of Belgium rival any other contemporary series in terms of aristry and historical significance. Far from being made of chocolate as one might expect, Belgian numismatics provide an excellent case-study of the ability of coins to peer into the soul of a nation.

Belgium looks to the future as the epicenter of European integration. No doubt this is partly the result of a traumatic post-World War II history in which the monarchy nearly faced dissolution, an African debacle left Belgium the poster child for decolonization gone awry, and the devolution of the unitary state along language lines threatened the kingdom's very existence. In its struggle for national identity, Belgium has been described as "a hopelessly broken marriage which is held together only because the partners could find no other place to live" (Van Wie, p. 146). A look at Belgian coinage through these historical contexts provides insight into understanding as to why the current situation at the heart of the European Union remains uncertain.

The first part of this article will focus on the crisis in the monarchy that ensued Belgium's liberation at the close of WWII and the way in which the contemporary coins reflected Belgians' changing perceptions toward the institution. The second installment will focus on the traditional rivalry between Dutch-speaking Flanders and francophone Wallonia and how the language schism and the accompanying tension has come to dominate nearly all aspects of Belgian society.

For more than a century the coins of Belgium have featured a portrait of the king and the inscription "King of the Belgians." However, this image has not remained static and each variation in the coinage reflects the change in both the perception of the monarch and his interaction with his government. When Leopold I of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha was crowned King of Belgium in 1831, he received the title "King of the Belgians." Likely influenced by the 1830 revolution in France and the election of Louis Phillipe as "King of the French," the title was considered by contemporaries to be a paradigm of a "new" monarch, the citizen-king as the figure head of a constitutional monarchy. The coins of Belgium from 1831 onwards featured either the monogram or bust of the king, accompanied by his royal title. The king continued to play an important role in Belgian politics as a force of influence until the outbreak of WWII and the ensuing German occupation. Belgium's unease toward the role of the monarch in the years after WWII

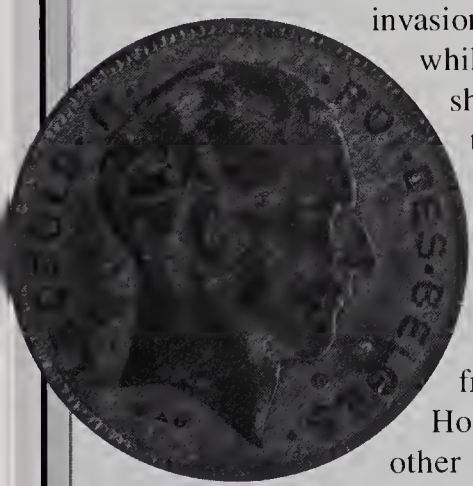


From 1831 until the German Occupation of WWII, all coins of Belgium featured either a bust or monogram of the ruling sovereign in its design. 20 Francs of Leopold III, 1934. (ANS 1935.999.286; image size 2x).

is reflected in the coinage of the era. Subsequently, royal imagery on Belgium coinage has mirrored the role of the monarch as a neutral and moderating force between dueling internal factions.

Occupation and Betrayal

The German invasion of the Lowlands came unexpectedly by air on May 10, 1940. The Luftwaffe and German paratroopers destroyed the air forces of the Netherlands and Belgium on the ground and seized key bridges and forts throughout the region (http://www.expatonline.com/moving/belgium/History/history_since_1945.cfm). Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands and Grand Duchess Charlotte of Luxembourg fled along with their respective governments to London where they continued an active resistance against the German aggressors. However, while the Belgian government joined the exiled nations of Europe in London, King Leopold III broke the ranks of solidarity and after a brief eighteen day campaign surrendered his country unconditionally to the German advancers (Van Wie, p. 151). The shock amongst the Belgian government was total. With no minister by Leopold's side to countersign the capitulation, the government in exile regarded the surrender as invalid and continued plans of cooperation with the Allies. Although Leopold was taken prisoner and held at his palace at Laeken, his policies during the occupation smacked of German collaboration. Leopold and his family were taken to Austria after the Allied invasion of Europe in 1944, and while in exile they refused to show any support of the resistance movements while simultaneously calling the Allied liberators "occupying powers" (Witte, p. 170). While the image of Wilhelmina was removed from the coins of occupied Holland, as was the case of the other monarchs of occupied nations, Leopold's bust remained on Belgian coinage throughout the Nazi occupation, a revealing clue about the absence of animosity between Leopold and the Germans (Van Wie, p. 151).



Unlike neighboring Netherlands and Luxembourg, where national heraldry was either radically changed or dropped altogether, Leopold III continued to grace the coins of Belgium during the German Occupation. 5 Francs of Leopold III, 1941 (ANS 1951.177.2, gift of J.A. Yockers; image size 2x).

Crisis

Parliament convened in Brussels for the first time since 1940 on September 19, 1944 and in the absence of Leopold the legislature appointed his brother Prince Karel as regent. The character and actions of Leopold III during the occupation immediately sparked an intense conflict between the left and right wings of the Belgian political spectrum. The Communists, who attained considerable prestige in the years immediately after 1945, called for Leopold's abdication while the conservatives vehemently opposed anything other than the king's full reinstatement (Balthazar, pp. 80-85). In 1945 Prime Minister Van Acker left Belgium for Leopold's temporary residence in Austria in order to negotiate an agreement. Van Acker was given instructions that Leopold was to publicly laud the Allied forces, purge his entourage, and renew his commitment to parliamentary democracy. The crisis deepened during Van Acker's absence when the Christian Socialist Party (CVP), a conservative party backing the king, insisted on a public referendum to solve the debate. The largely socialist and liberal Parliament refused and in defiance the CVP left the government (Witte, pp. 170, 180).

As a result of van Acker's successful mediation, Leopold returned to Belgium amidst this scene of political chaos which only worsened with the resignation of the Communists and the complete collapse of the coalition government. The elections held in 1949 saw the spectacular rise of the conservative right wing, with the CVP capturing 105 seats in the 212 seat Chamber. With a near majority, the CVP was easily able to force a referendum on the Royal Question. In a referendum held on March 12, 1950, 57.6 percent of voters favored the return of Leopold to the throne. The results however polarized the country: 72 percent of Flanders voted for Leopold while fewer than 50 percent in Wallonia and Brussels supported the king. Sensing the transformation of the Royal Question into a full-fledged regional conflict, Leopold offered a compromise in which he would temporarily abdicate and return when the situation had cooled down a bit. This solution pleased no one, with the Socialists and liberals wanting even more restrictions and the Christian Conservatives demanding full reinstatement. Amidst this snowballing crisis was another wave of elections that increased the CVP's power in Parliament to an absolute majority. This parliament quickly voted to reinstate Leopold and on July 22, 1950 Leopold III returned to Laeken Palace (Witte, pp. 179-181).

The decision to reinstate Leopold as King of the Belgians sparked waves of protest through Wallonia. The Walloon industrial belt went on a general strike and was joined on July 26 by the transportation sector of the economy. There were plans to bring the entire steel industry to a standstill and calls for a Walloon Republic. Four people were shot dead by State Police at Grace Berleur. With the country at the verge of civil war, Leopold started a new round of negotiations with the government on July 31, 1950 in which it was finally agreed that Leopold would abdicate in favor of his son Baudouin. The bloody epilogue to the Royal Question crisis occurred on July 16, 1951 during the inauguration of Baudouin I when Julien Lahaut, Chairman of the Communist Party, shouted out "Vive la Republique" during the royal oath ceremony. Lahaut was shot dead one week later in front of his home in Seraing. The murder was never solved (Witte, www.resistances.be).

Iconoclast and Reconciliation

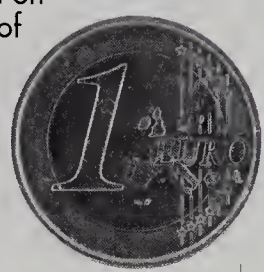
Belgium's unease towards the role of the monarch in the years after WWII is reflected on the coinage of the era. The coins of Belgium from 1831 onward featured either the monogram or bust of the king, accompanied by his royal title. The years 1945-1947 saw a continuation of the series that had circulated prior to and during the German Occupation in a policy similar to other European countries who favored instilling a sense of continuity from before the war rather than immediate reforms. A complete redesign of Belgian coinage was unveiled in 1948 during the core of the crisis regarding the Royal Question. The new designs were a radical shift towards republican iconography. The portrait of Leopold III was completely removed from all of the denominations. Replacing him were allegorical representations of agriculture, commerce, and industry. The one and five franc denominations pictured the goddess Ceres, symbolizing agriculture, accompanied by a small horn of plenty (Van Wie, pp. 151-152). The theme of renewal was appropriate considering that the coins were introduced when Europe's battlefields were still smoldering and is a motif common to the coins of many nations after WWII including those of France, West Germany, and Italy. The only reference to Belgium's status as a monarchy was the crown on the reverse. The twenty and fifty franc pieces replace Leopold's bust with a portrait of the classical god Mercury, a traditional symbol of commerce and prosperity. On these pieces even the crown on the reverse was omitted. The 50-centime coin features a portrait of a miner, symbolizing industry (Raymond, p. 2). The only post-WWII coin that Leopold III appears on is the 100 franc denomination, and even then he is portrayed on a tableau with his three predecessors, again stressing continuity after the war (Wie, pp. 151-152). The 100-franc coin also bears resemblance to a denier of ancient Gallic Belgium, further reinforcing the de-emphasis on Leopold himself and the focus on historical continuity (Pauwels, p. 75). King Leopold was also removed from the coinage of the Belgian Congo and replaced by an elephant motif (Raymond, p. 16).

Replacing Leopold III on the 20-franc coin in 1948, Mercury marked a dramatic shift from over a century of a continual royal presence. 20 Francs, 1949. (ANS 1949 1965.68.11, gift of Henry Grunthal; image size 2x).

The subsequent return of royal imagery on Belgian coinage starting in the 1960's and continuing until the present day is reflective of the role the monarch has played as a

Removed from every denomination save one, Leopold III was relegated to the infrequently seen 100-franc coin, where he shared the obverse with his three predecessors. 100 Francs, 1948. (ANS 1965.68.13, gift of Henry Grunthal; image size 2x).

neutral and moderating force in the ever-increasing tensions between the Walloons and the Flemings as well as his standing as a rare source of national Belgian pride (http://www.expatonline.com/moving/belgium/History/history_since_1945.cfm). Baudouin first appears on a commemorative coin celebrating the 1958 World's Fair held in Brussels. As a commemorative, the coin was only minted in small quantities and did not generally circulate. It was only in 1969 that the King's portrait returned to Belgian coinage, although without any name or royal title. Earning the affection of most Belgians, Baudouin became a symbol of Belgian fortitude during a decade of economic stagnation exacerbated by the loss of the Belgian Congo (1960-1961) and the military debacles in Rwanda and Burundi (1962). The Belgian government slowly phased in coins from 1980-1989 with Baudouin's portrait and royal name replacing the classical symbols of the immediate post-war years (Van Wie, pp. 151-152). The return of the Belgian monarch as a symbol of pride and national unity was complete in 1999 when Belgium chose to picture King Albert II on the national side of its Euro coins. Today, the monarchy is one of Belgium's most cherised institutions, with Albert embraced on both sides of the political spectrum and the lives of the royal family covered exhaustively by the tabloids.



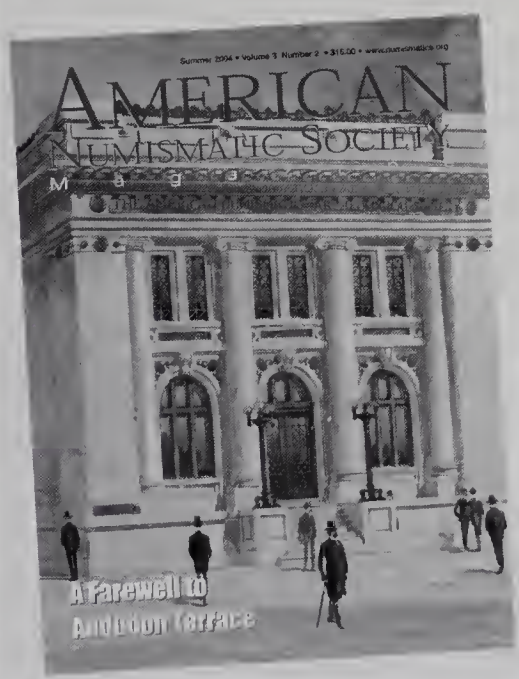
Reconciled with the monarchy, Belgium chose King Albert II to represent Belgium on the national side of the new Euro coinage. 1 Euro 1999 (ANS 2002.24.71, gift of Coast to Coast Coins; image size 1x).

The crisis in the monarchy had a happy ending. It took decades of patience and tact by the royal family, but at last their sins have been forgiven by the Belgian people. The major crisis of the post-war era, the splintering of Belgium into two, and then three, separate societies has a less optimistic prognosis. In the next part we will look at the intense rivalry between Flanders and Wallonia and its severe impact on Belgian life, including its numismatics.

Even Belgium's colonies in Central Africa felt the pressure of the Royal Question, as Leopold was replaced in the Belgian Congo with an elephant. Belgian Congo 5 Francs, 1947. (ANS 1950.122.509, gift of Wayte Raymond. Image size 1x).

Andrew Schloss is spending his second summer interning at the ANS. An undergraduate student at the University of Rochester in Rochester, N.Y., Schloss is both a coin collector and an avid student of history. He is spending the current academic semester interning with a Member of the European Parliament in Brussels, Belgium.

Note: The references for this article will be listed in part II.



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Roman Gold
from Boscoreale at the ANS

BY SEBASTIAN HEATH

Boscoreale, near Pompeii in Italy, is well known to Roman numismatists as the find spot of a hoard of over 1,000 gold aurei, the latest of which dates to AD 78, that came to light in 1894 or 1895. Covered with volcanic ash from Mount Vesuvius on August 24, AD 79, the villa in which the coins were found had lain undisturbed until 1876, but even then the coin hoard lay undiscovered for almost another 30 years. Unfortunately, no formal study of the Boscoreale coins was made before they were dispersed into the market, and, as is often the case, it is very possible that a list pubished 1909 includes material from other finds as well.

Figure 1. Nero r./Inscribed shield, spear behind (*RIC* 78 under Claudius, AD 50-54). (1944.100.39405, E. T. Newell bequest).

A distinctive feature of coins from Boscoreale is their deep-red toning, and the term "Boscoreale" is now used in auction catalogs to describe similar discoloration on any Roman gold. The ANS cabinets hold many such coins as well as five aurei of Nero from the E. T. Newell collection that are accompanied by tags in Newell's handwriting specifically noting the Boscoreale Hoard as their proveneance. This is as good a basis for assigning the coins to the hoard as is likely to be available today. In addition, a single aureus of Nero from the A. J. Fecht bequest, which was deposited at the Society in 1948, but not formally accessioned until 1980, has a tag indicating that it is "ex Boscoreale find, Pompeii, 1898," and so is included here.

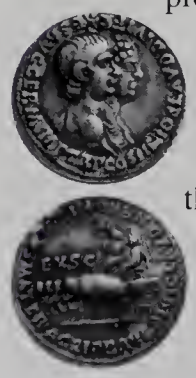

Figure 2. Jugate busts of Nero and Agrippina r./Deified Claudius and Augustus drawn by quadriga of elephants (*RIC* 6, 55). (1967.153.219, A. M. Newell bequest).

Boscoreale coins tend to be well preserved and the ANS pieces are no exception. The small selection shown here certainly illustrates the high artistic skill of mid to late first century imperial engravers. Additionally, this group is interesting for showing the changing style of Nero's official portrait. Born into a prominent family, Nero's prospects improved dramatically when his mother Agrippina, Jr., herself a great-granddaughter of Augustus, married the reigning emperor Claudius in AD 49. Coins were subsequently issued in the name of the new imperial prince, including the specimen illustrated in figure 1. In this early phase, Nero's image has similarities with that of Claudius, who had adopted him in AD 50.

Figure 3. Nero r./Virtus standing l.(*RIC* 25, 60-61). (1944.100.39413, E.T. Newell bequest).

Figure 4.. Nero r./Nero radiate standing (*RIC* 46, 64-65). (1944.100.39419, E. T. Newell bequest).

At the beginning of his reign, following the death of Claudius in 54, Nero issued coins that also bore his mother's portrait, as shown in figure 2. By 55, mother and son had fallen out with each other, and Nero had Agrippina murdered in 59. Figure 3 shows a coin of 60-61 that certainly depicts a slightly older man with more individualized features.

Figure 5. Nero r./Jupiter seated r (*RIC* 52, 64-65). (1944.100.39422, E. T. Newell bequest).

These first three coins may well have been struck at Lugdunum, modern Lyon in France, although debate on this matter continues. The last three, struck between 64 and 68 (figures

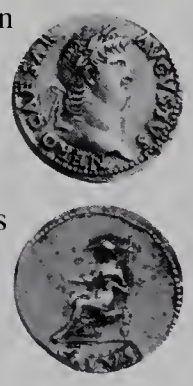

Figure 6..Nero r./ Salus seated l (*RIC* 59, 65-66). (1980.109.158, bequest of A. J. Fecht).

4, 5, and 6), are products of the Roman mint and show Nero's fully developed and mature portrait. By this time, Rome had suffered the great fire of 64, and Nero's subsequent behavior became increasingly erratic. Resistance to his rule came to a head in 68 when revolt broke out in Africa, Gaul, Germany, and Spain. Finally, on June 9 of the same year, Nero took his own life rather than be cut down by pursuing assassins. ANSM

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Full information about each coin illustrated is available on the ANS web-site, www.numismatics.org.

Miriam Balmuth *by Ute Wartenberg*

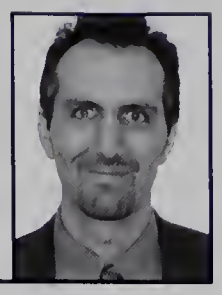
Miriam Balmuth, ANS Fellow, supporter, and a member since 1960, died of cancer at her home in Santa Fe on June 30 at the age of 79. Balmuth, who was born in Brunswick, New Jersey, was leading woman archaeologist and numismatist in an age when there were few women pursuing these interests. After graduating from Cornell University in 1946 with a B.A. in classics she continued her education at Ohio State University where she got a M.A. in Classical languages. In 1964 she received a doctorate in Classical Archaeology from Harvard, a rare achievement for a woman in those days.

Early on, Balmuth developed a strong interest in numismatics. From 1955 to 1962, she served as Keeper of Ancient Coins at the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University, where she was also the Assistant for the D. M. Robinson Collection from 1960 to 1962. In 1964 she became Assistant Professor of Classics at Tufts University, where she remained over 30 years. In 1998, she was made Research Professor, which allowed her to focus on her increasing number of research projects.

Balmuth worked in a number of unrelated areas, in which she gained considerable prominence in the US and abroad. In the 1970s she directed the first American excavation on the island of Sardinia, where she continued to work for many years. She was also keenly interested in volcanos and their surrounding landscape.

Among numismatists, she is best known for her innovative work on early coinage and pre-coined money. Throughout her career, she was preoccupied with the precursors to the western coinage, such as Hacksilber, cut-up pieces of silver, jewellery or other items of this nature. In 2001, the American Numismatic Society published an important volume on this topic, which was edited by Balmuth (*Hacksilber to Coinage: New Insights into the Monetary History of the Near East and Greece. Collection of Eight Papers Presented at the 99th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America.* Numismatic Studies no. 24), in which Balmuth brought together papers by leading scholars from different disciplines. This interdisciplinary approach so rarely found in numismatics made her a key figure in the field.

Before their permanent move to New Mexico, she and her late husband Norman came quite regularly to the ANS. Miriam was quite charming, and is remembered too as having a forceful, focused personality. As a passionate baseball fan she was able to rattle off statistics and all sorts of other related stories; apparently too her favorite player Roger Clemens reminded her of a Roman charioteer. Miriam will be sorely missed by many students and colleagues, not least by her many friends at the ANS. ANSM



Greek Acquisitions

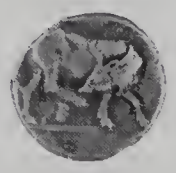
BY PETER VAN ALFEN

The Mighty Octopus?

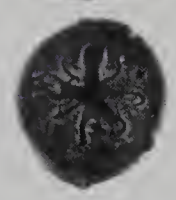
Shortly before our move downtown, ANS Trustee Dr. Arnold-Peter Weiss donated yet another batch of choice coins to the Greek cabinet, including a rare Cypriot issue from an as-yet unknown mint. The coin was found with the famed Asyut hoard (no. 817 in Martin Price and Nancy Waggoner's 1975 study of the hoard) and features the head of a roaring lion on the obverse and an exquisitely detailed octopus on the reverse. The Cypriot character *ka* in the upper right hand corner of the reverse field may one day help lead us to the mint that produced the coin; Dr. Michel Amandry, our visiting scholar, informs me that his department in Paris recently purchased a similar coin, but with a lengthier inscription that could be a personal name. The obverse type, the lion, as here and in its various other guises, was exceedingly common on Archaic and later coinages, particularly those from Asia Minor and farther east. As a symbol of royal might the lion on coins represented not only the hegemonic Persian kings, but also those they overthrew, like the king of Lydia, and those who became their vassals, like the kings of Phoenicia and Cyprus. More difficult to explain, however, is the octopus.

Early fifth century double shekel from Cyprus (Kourion?) with roaring lion obverse and octopus reverse (ANS 2004.18.6, gift of Arnold-Peter Weiss).

While certainly eye-catching and often quite floral in presentation, the octopus was not an especially common coin type in antiquity. Eretria, one of the four major cities on the large Aegean island of Euboea, appears to have been the first to use the type when it started to mint staters and smaller denominations with an octopus reverse around 525 BC. Because of the stylistic similarity between the creatures on the coins, the esteemed George F. Hill argued that the Cypriot octopus was an imitation of the Eretrian version; presumably the Cypriot coins were minted when Cypriot cities aided the Euboean and other Aegean cities during the Ionian Revolt (499-497 BC). Hill's theory was rejected by Price and Waggoner in the Aysut study (p. 111); they proposed instead a date in the 480s for the coin. At some point in the mid-fifth century, decades after the Aegean conflicts of the 490-480s, the octopus appears again in the western Greek world, first as a reverse type on a silver (then bronze) litra of Syracuse, then as a reverse type on bronze fractions of Messana (c. 430 BC), and as an ancillary symbol on fractions from Acragas. Perhaps as early as the fifth century, but likely sometime later, the wealthy Etruscan city of Populonia on the Italian mainland also minted octopuses as a reverse type and may have been responsible too for the more elaborate depiction of an octopus emerging from an amphora found on a large silver 20 litra piece in the ANS collection.



Half-drachm of Eretria, c. 500 BC (ANS 1978.82.4, purchase).



Tetrans of Syracuse, c. 425 BC (ANS 1944.100.55828, E.T. Newell bequest).

Why any of these cities chose the octopus as a type (and almost exclusively as a reverse type) is difficult to determine; as far as our sources indicate the octopus played no role in the founding tales or mythology of the cities. However, the cities that minted the octopuses (presumably the Cypriot coin too) shared a common trait: all were located on the sea and all possessed ports; Eretria and Syracuse especially were known for the strength of their navies. Other denizens of the deep, like crabs, dolphins, clams, and even half-man hippocamps often appear on other series of coins from these cities too, like those from Acragas and Syracuse, where the depictions could have played an important symbolic function within the city. The crab at Acragas, for example, is thought to represent the city's eponymous river god. An octopus could simply represent a city's close ties to the sea, either as a favorite food (the octopus was a delicacy then as now and was even reputed to have aphrodisiac qualities), or as one of the more distinctive creatures from the sea. Artistically the

20 asses of Populonia, c. 200 BC (ANS 1957.172.33, Hoyt Miller bequest).

octopus makes an interesting subject, something vase painters recognized at an early date (see, for example, the depictions of the octopus on numerous second-millennium BC Minoan vases).

20 asses from an unknown Estrucan mint (Populonia?) showing an octopus emerging from an amphora on the obverse (ANS 1949.100.10, purchase).

As tasty or as art-worthy as the octopus might have been, however, literary sources make it clear that the ancients looked upon the octopus with a great deal more reservation, perhaps even fear, than we might otherwise suspect. These perceptions of the creature could certainly have informed the choice of the coin type and what it represented. The octopus was known as a crafty and dangerous animal (Pliny ix.90) with a venomous bite (Aelian v.44) and tenacious grip (Ovid *Met.* iv.366). Shifty men were compared to the octopus because it was known to change its color to match the seafloor below when threatened (Athenaeus 513d). More alarming was the belief that because they so loved grapes, the eight-legged creatures would venture out of the sea at night to steal the fruit off the vines (Aristotle *HA* 622 a 31). Most troubling were the tales of immense octopuses with arms 300 feet long (Pliny ix.90); one such monster, so the tale goes (Aelian xiii.6), raided the spice merchants' quayside warehouse in Puteoli. Perhaps the octopus then was not an innocuous symbol, by rather one that conveyed a sense of dread and respect much like representations of the lion did. A lion and an octopus on one coin, as on our new Cypriot acquisition, might have represented royal might, not only within terrestrial domains, but at sea as well. ANSM

First Impressions By Katherine Siboni

When I walked up to 96 Fulton Street for the first time on June 15 of this summer, I set foot into the American Numismatic Society Headquarters momentarily, looked around, and fleed immediately, hoping that no one had noticed me. After having yelled "Williams and Fulton" over numerous intercoms to blank-faced subway attendants, having dodged at least a hundred black suits whose ties were exactly at my eye-level, and having passed my bolted-up destination multiple times, one would imagine I would finally stumble into the building with a sigh of relief, not slip out just as quickly as I had entered. It wasn't as though I suddenly felt nervous, or unprepared. But when I was greeted by a floor composed of dust and chunks of plaster, a cacophony of drilling and hammering, and almost all of the only human beings present elevated three feet above me on step ladders, I knew I couldn't possibly be in the right place. I walked outside, checked the address once again, re-entered, asked if Dr. Wartenberg was in, and was amazed when they knew who I was talking about.

Every morning of my first week, I walked into a given room, and was greeted by towers of brown cardboard hovering over myself, the group of interns I had just joined, and anyone else from the museum scrambling to organize the building before the opening. The objective of every day was to make one of these rooms appear empty by 5:00. Eventually this was achieved, and a party was held in a clean, orderly building. The next week I started my internship with the archives.

Working in the archives, at first, did not seem dissimilar to working on the move, in that making order of impossible amounts of material was the goal. However, as Joe and Aviva—archivist by profession and not numismatists—glanced over my shoulder and proclaimed the name of the foreign face staring up at me from a pile of old photographs, and proceeded to pour out their knowledge of the given individual, I realized that my internship would require much more mental involvement than unpacking boxes. Through inventory work of old correspondence files, databasing the summer seminar, and looking up references to former curators, the ANS has managed to clear a corner of my brain in which to nestle and await the daily input of information. Moving through the building every day, more and more gaps in my knowledge of the society's history are filled by the small but erudite staff, who weave information into this mental map that I am forming. Also, because of ANS' size, I have found that all the aspects of the Society's management are so compact that they inevitably coincide, allowing no possibility for detachment from the interest of the Society in any area.

As the thousands of coins, and the documents of those who were so well acquainted with them, have made their way off of the chaos of the big empty floors and onto shelves where they will be preserved and studied, they are also being stored away in my mind, which began the summer of 2004 just as unfamiliar with but open to Numismatics as 96 Fulton Street. ANSM

The Stack Family Coinage of the Americas Conference, May 14-15, 2004

BY ROBERT WILSON HOGE

2004's Coinage of the Americas Conference (COAC) convened in the ANS' new facilities, at 96 Fulton Street (140 William Street), in lower Manhattan, Friday evening, May 14, at 6:30 p.m. Attendees found the building well on its way to readiness for occupancy. A welcome from Executive Director Dr. Ute Wartenberg-Kagan, expressing appreciation to the Stack family for its commitment to support this major annual function of the Society, was followed by a statement of acknowledgment and satisfaction from Larry Stack. The theme for this year's COAC was "Medals Illustrating American Colonial History, the Work of C. W. Betts Revisited."

Opening remarks were followed by the initial presentation of the Conference itself. This was a talk by Anne E. Bentley and John W. Adams, respectively Curator of the Massachusetts Historical Society and Trustee of the American Numismatic Society, on their large-scale project entitled "An International Survey of the *Comitia Americana* Medals." Their goal is to locate and identify original and early restrike specimens of the Comitia Americana series extant in the world's collections. Interesting preliminary results showed that original issues are considerably rarer than may have been heretofore supposed, and that the numbers reflect the political situations dominant at the time of their minting. These are the first medals that are attributed to the fledgling United States of America, although they were struck in France, at the Paris Mint (*Monnaie de Paris*).

Participants congregated after the Bentley/Adams address for a sumptuous official dinner at nearby historic Fraunces Tavern, a location very much in keeping with the subject matter of the occasion. The 2004 COAC reconvened in the Society's new facilities at 8:00 a.m. on Saturday, May 15, for coffee followed by a full program of studies broken by a buffet lunch at noon. Eight presentations explored a number of the areas initially investigated and catalogued by early ANS member Charles Wyllys Betts in his 1894 work, *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*.

D. Wayne Johnson, well-known specialist in American Medallic productions and former officer of the prolific Medallic Arts Company as well as a one-time major dealer in medals, delivered a paper entitled "How Many Betts Medals are 'America American.'" He identified those

Robert Hoge (l.) and John Adams (r.)

Larry Stack

Anne Bentley

David Alexander

D. Wayne Johnson

Vicken Yegparian

Richard Margolis

David Menchell

John Kraljevich

Eric Goldstein

medals in the Betts canon of issues from various sources which are truly a part of the history of the geographical region which is now the United States of America, and discussed the origins and criteria for selection of such pieces.

Robert W. Hoge, Curator of American Coins and Currency at the American Numismatic Society, in his talk entitled "A Survey of the Betts Series of Medals in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society," delineated the extent of the Society's collection of this material, noting some pieces of particular attractiveness and interest among the extensive holdings which have been donated over the years. Of particular importance are the gifts of Daniel Parish Jr., around the turn of the last century, and the more recent contributions from the renowned Norweb collection.

US Comitia Americana Series, John Paul Jones, 1779 by Augustin Dupré. Early silver restrike, Paris Mint Betts. 568 (ANS 1967.225.518, Wardsworth Attenum J. Coolidge Hills bequest).

Eric Goldstein, Curator at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, discussed "Exonumia of the British Armed Forces, 1740-1780." Using contemporary source illustrations, he elucidated the interpretation and context of a wide variety of little-recognized pieces of numismatic militaria, pointing out the importance of social club insignia among officers.

Vicken Yegparian, numismatist and researcher with the Stack's firm, unveiled his original research on the exceedingly rare academic medal issued by his *alma mater*, which had not yet been uncovered in Betts' day. His talk, "The Premium Medal's Awarded by the Literary Society of King's College in New York 1767-1771," utilized unpublished materials from the archives of Columbia University (formerly King's College) and elsewhere.

A leading specialist and researcher in the period of French Revolutionary numismatics, Richard Margolis presented the results of his long-term extensive research in original archival sources in France. In his talk "Benjamin Franklin in Terra Cotta, Portrait Medallions by Jean Baptiste Nini and Jean Martin Renaud," Margolis covered these remarkable series of ceramic images and discussed their background and creation.

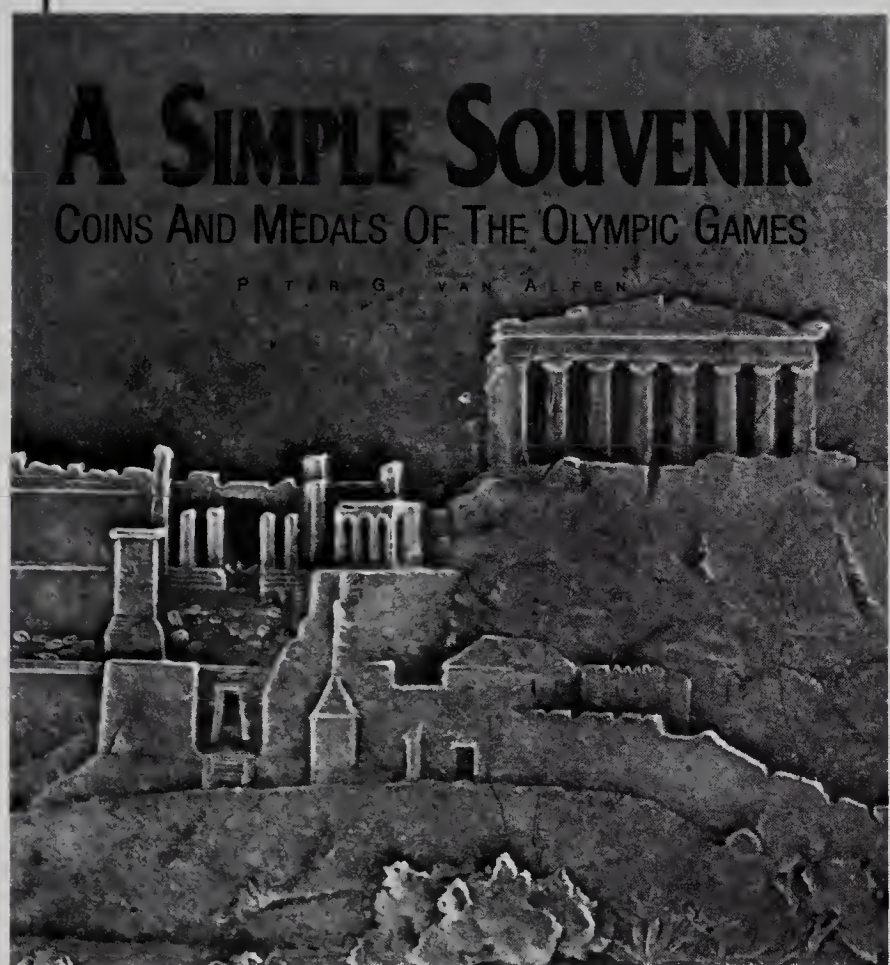
David T. Alexander, scholarly researcher, writer and numismatist with the Stack's firm, presented "The Enigmatic John Stewart *Comitia Americana* Medal," in which he pursued the occasion, the preparation and the post-humous awarding of this the most rare and least understood of the original Congressional series of medals.

In his "Thomas Jefferson, Medal Collector," researcher and dealer John Kraljevich investigated the third president's place in numismatics in terms of the coins and medals he is known to have handled and issues with which he was involved, reporting observations drawn from the collections of Jefferson's papers and discussing his diplomatic activities and travels.

Researcher David Menchell summarized the extensive material which, for a variety of reasons, did not find its way into Betts' catalog. His "'Betts Medals' Not Included in the Betts Canon" focused largely upon those medals relating to European treaties which contain specific provisions dealing with American subjects but which were not previously regarded as necessarily having American connotations. He included particular examples of items unknown to Betts but to be found in the ANS collection.

The working title for the eventual ANS publication of the proceedings from the 2004 COAC is *The Medal in America, Volume 3: Medals Illustrating American Colonial History, the Work of C. W. Betts Revisited.* ANSM

A Simple Souvenir
Coins And Medals Of The Olympic Games



A Simple Souvenir: Coins and Medals of the Olympic Games, by Peter van Alfen, the Margaret Thompson Assistant Curator of Greek Coins is now available. This richly illustrated catalogue of the current ANS Olympics exhibit at the Federal Reserve Bank, New York, explores the social and political function of Olympic numismatics. Illustrating over 120 objects, including ancient vases and sports equipment, early 20th century posters and other ephemera, in addition to the coins and medals, the book offers a unique perspective on the Olympics and its numismatic heritage.

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ISLAMIC CURATOR'S NEWS BY MICHAEL BATES

Heritage of the High Caliphate Conference Hosted at the New ANS

The Islamic coinage of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates, and their contemporaries, came to the fore this year at a conference on June 25, shortly after taking occupation of our new Fulton Street building. Seven speakers and some twenty other participants considered various aspects of the coinage of the Muslim world from Spain to Afghanistan and from AD 700 to about 950. The meeting was co-sponsored and supported by the Middle East Medievalists group.

Damascus dirham of 79 (AD 699) (ANS 1987.141.2, gift of Roger Kuntz).

The meeting began with a survey lecture by ANS Curator of Islamic Coins Michael L. Bates, who has been working on a narrative history of the caliphal era for some three decades. In his attempt to summarize the broad conclusions of his work, he organized his presentation around two axes.

First, chronologically, the two and a half centuries after the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik's introduction of purely inscriptional Islamic coinage in AD 697 saw the evolution and definition of a standard Muslim coin type and inscriptions that endured long after the definitive fall of the caliphate as a political entity in 1258. Elements introduced by Abd al-Malik are still present on the coinage of some Muslim countries today. The new Islamic type of 697 established the basic design format of classical Islamic coins, with several horizontal lines of inscription surrounded by circular inscriptions on both sides. The only non-verbal elements were divisions or borders between and outside the inscriptions. The coins were anonymous, being struck, as stated on the coin, bism Allah, "in the name of God," not by mere human authority. The important inscriptions, put together from phrases in the Qur'an, proclaimed the unity of God and the supremacy of Muhammad as His last messenger, and a long reverse inscription countered the Christian doctrine of God as Father and as Son. This last reverse inscription was replaced by the Abbasids immediately on their overthrow of the Umayyad caliphate in 750 by three words restating the position of Muhammad as messenger of God. In 763, for the first time, an official of the caliphate, al-Mahdi the son of the caliph al-Mansur, placed his title on the silver dirhams minted under his authority. This innovation accompanied, and proclaimed, the adoption in that year by al-Mahdi and his father of official honorifics, to wit, "the Mahdi" or expected lawgiver at the end of time, and al-Mansur, "the victor," who, in many eschatological narratives, was to precede the Mahdi. They were the first caliph and successor to use such titles, which were standard henceforth for all caliphs.

Al-Mahdi's name appeared, however, only on dirhams issued under his authority as governor of Khurasan, the East, and later on dirhams of Armenia and Arran when he was given those provinces. The innovation opened the way for many others to put their names on dirhams and on some gold dinars, but in every case, those named were governors with administrative authority over the places where the coins were struck,

Rayy dirham of 145 (AD 763) (ANS 1958.222.10, purchase).

even if they also had high offices in the central administration. Even the caliphs themselves were named only in some provinces at some times and not elsewhere, suggesting perhaps in these cases direct administration of the province through a subordinate agent of the caliph rather than assignment of the province to a magnate of the family or state. In many cases, a hierarchy of officials are named on a single issue, each with his proper nomenclature, leading to exceedingly long and crowded inscriptions in an extremely mannered cramped epigraphy.

The caliph al-Ma'mun and his wazir al-Fadl b. Sahl began to bring an end

to the resulting diversity and ugliness of Abbasid coinage while al-Amin was still caliph in Baghdad and al-Ma'mun was only in control of the eastern part of the caliphate assigned to him by his father. Although their changes were introduced piecemeal, the result, by 822 in Baghdad, was a caliphal coinage that was completely uniform. Dinars and dirhams previously had essentially the same inscriptions, but with minor textual differences and in a different arrangement. Henceforth both currencies had identical inscriptions, except for the denomination. Different mints previously had different policies as to the names and nomenclature of officials; this diversity was eliminated on the new coins because they were anonymous, returning to the example of Abd al-Malik. All mints now had the same inscriptions in the same arrangement. In fact, a variety of evidence indicates that the dies for the few mints that remained in operation were made in Baghdad and distributed to outlying mints, from Egypt to Samarqand; this system seems to have remained in function for more than a century.

Anonymity did not last long. The

Dinar of Madinat al-Salam (Baghdad), 222 (AD 837) (ANS 1971.49.158, gift of E.P. Newman).

next caliph, al-Ma'mun's brother al-Mu`tasim billah, put his title on the coins, but with the difference that the form and position of the name were now standardized, in the last line of the reverse central field inscriptions. Al-Mutasim's son al-Mutawakkil added the name of his chosen successor as the last line of the obverse central field. Over the course of the next century, all successors-apparent were named on the coins, always in the same location, as well as a very few wazirs, some provincial governors of note, and at the end of the era, three warlords who achieved dictatorial power. Thus was created the standard Sunni Abbasid coin type that was used everywhere in the caliphate until it was destroyed by the Mongols. The military men, like the Samanids, Buyids, Ghaznavids or Seljuqs, were named on the coins as subordinates of the caliphate, even though their power was real and absolute, that of the caliphs merely nominal; and the religious inscriptions of the coins of these different realms were virtually always identical and in the same arrangement. All these amirs, sultans, and shahanshahs respected the caliphs' right of *sikka*, the right to be acknowledged as sovereign on the coinage; not to do so would have indicated religious as well as political rebellion, as it did in the case of the Fatimid caliphs and the Zaydi imams.

Second, geographically, Bates emphasized the importance of regional, provincial, and municipal variations within the canon of the standard type, and sometimes outside it. Importantly, until al-Ma'mun's reforms, there were regional and local variations in the mass of the *mithqal*, the standard weight for the gold dinar in the west and the old Sasanian-type silver dirham in the eastern caliphate; and different ways of relating the weight of the new silver dirhams to the standard mithqal of each region. It appears that part of al-Ma'mun's changes was the establishment of a uniform mithqal for the weight of the dinar, and a standard ratio of 7/10 for the weight of the dirham in relation to the mithqal—a relationship that became canonical as a part of Islamic religious law. There were also variations in fineness standard from province to province, yet to be fully elucidated.

The copper fals coinage of the caliphate was always non-standard and local or regional, with many officials' names not found on the precious metal issues. In the middle of the ninth century, copper minting, except in certain peripheral areas, largely ceased in the caliphate, a phenomenon yet to be explained satisfac-

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torily. There were provinces and regions where older coinages continued on for decades, such as the Bukhar-Khuda coinage of Bukhara; the Tabaristan dirhams of Sasanian type; the Aghlabid dinars and dirhams that continued the coin types of the first Abbasid era, ignoring al-Ma'mun's reforms, and passed some of the features of those issues on to the Fatimids in the tenth century; and the coinage of the Umayyad amirs of Spain that preserved the original dirham type of Abd al-Malik until the end of the ninth century. The glass balance weights and heavy weights of Egypt are an essential part of the monetary history of the caliphates.

This wide-ranging introductory lecture was followed by five presentations on narrower topics. Roger L. Martinez, a graduate student in the Department of History at the University of Texas, Austin, gave a paper entitled "In the Name of God: Authority and Accommodation in the Early Medieval Iberian Islamic Coinage," which used two Arab-Latin coins of Spain to illustrate Arab policy toward the Christian inhabitants in the years of the conquest of the peninsula from AD 711 to 716.

Dr. Nitzan Amitai-Preiss from Ben Gurion University of the Negev, spoke on "The Governorships of Ibrahim b. Salih," who governed Egypt twice, under al-Mahdi and again under Harun, and at other times governed parts of Syria. The coins with his name seem to come only from Egypt, and have no indication of date, leaving their attribution to Ibrahim's first or second term uncertain. In the discussion, it was suggested that their fabric might solve the puzzle, since the coppers of Egypt were reduced in size and weight after the introduction of gold coinage there in al-Rashid's first year.

Peter Lampinen, a familiar figure at the ANS Islamic conferences and other meetings of the same kind, reported on caliphate coins from Caesarea in Palestine, under the title "The Islamic Renewal: Caesarea Maritima in Abbasid and Fatimid Times." In recent seasons, the excavation of the settlement areas of the earlier Islamic era has begun, augmenting the finds of interesting coins of the caliphates.

Dr. Deborah Tor, an alumna of the 1999 ANS Graduate Seminar, recently a Junior Fellow at Harvard, and now about to take up a Lectureship at the Ben Gurion University of the Negev, called her paper "Action in Andaraba, c. 900; Or, What Coins from the Andaraba Mint Reveal about the Real State of the Samanid Polity," which examined the frequent changes in the hierarchy of rulers on Andaraba dirhams around the turn of the tenth century. Andaraba is a town in north-central Afghanistan, not far from the rich silver mines of Panjhir, "the mountain of silver." The coins reflect the power struggle between the Banijurids of Balkh, who were the nominal local lords of Andarab, the Samanids in distant Nishapur, and the Abbasid caliphate far away in Baghdad, providing information not found in any other historical source.

Teresa Bernheimer of Oxford, who held a fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, in the past semester, spoke on "The Coinage of 'Abdallah b. Mu'awiya, 127-130: Some Reconsiderations." Abd Allah b. Mu'awiya's coinage was last treated in a magisterial ANS Graduate Seminar paper by Carl Wurtzel, published in ANS *Museum Notes* 1978. Since then, a new dirham issue of Jayy, 127, has appeared, exemplified by Klat 268b, with a longer quotation of the Qu'ranic verse, "say, I ask of you no wage for it except loyalty to the kinfolk," that is standard on issues of the adherents of the Prophet's family as the rightful imams, adding the words "and whoever distributes good will be rewarded for it with good." This is evidently the earliest of Abd Allah b. Mu'awiya's issues, and indicates more clearly his ideological appeal.

The final plenary lecture by Professor Stuart Sears, organizer of the conference, discussed "The Politics of Money: the Caliph Abd al-Malik b. Marwan's Inscription of Qur'anic Verse." Abd al-Malik used excerpts from the Qur'an on the new Islamic coinage, on the Dome of the Rock, and elsewhere in new ways, emphasizing aspects of Islam that had previously been left in the background. He was the first to state the Prophethood of Muhammad on coins, and to use verses proclaiming the primacy of Islam as a new religion superior to and supreme over all others. He also chose quotations directly challenging the legitimacy of the remnant of the Roman Empire in Constatinople.

About twenty persons took part in the conference, and at the end of the afternoon the group adjourned to the South Street Seaport for pitchers of beer al fresco. ANSM

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CURRENT CABINET ACTIVITIES

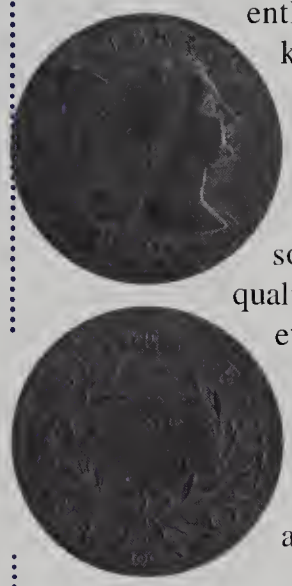
BY ROBERT WILSON HOGE

Since the last issue of the ANS Magazine, we have received, as is typically the case, a variety of communications from individuals with inquiries about particular coins or other issues. Because of our move to the new facilities underway at this time, it has not been possible to respond to all of these in the manner to which we hope correspondents may feel accustomed, nor were we able to host visiting researchers as we did heretofore. In this column, however, I will briefly review some of our service requests, both to indicate the nature of daily work at the ANS in trying to help people with their numismatic investigations and to show a selection of relevant pieces from the collection. But in this issue I want especially to note, for our members, some important recent developments regarding the famous ANS cabinet of United States large cent pieces.

An Update on the Early U.S. Large Cent Collection

Many will recall the situation, revealed some years ago, in which it was discovered that a major theft from the cabinet had taken place. Careful investigation and documentation revealed that numerous pieces from the magnificent collection of early U.S. cents donated to the Society in 1946 by ALCOA Aluminum magnate George H. Clapp had been stolen around 1949, apparently by the well-known specialist and author Dr. William H. Sheldon, in a nefarious scheme. Evidently, cents of somewhat lesser quality of the same varieties had been substituted for the Clapp coins, which subsequently entered the marketplace and found their way into the possession of numismatic dealers and collectors.

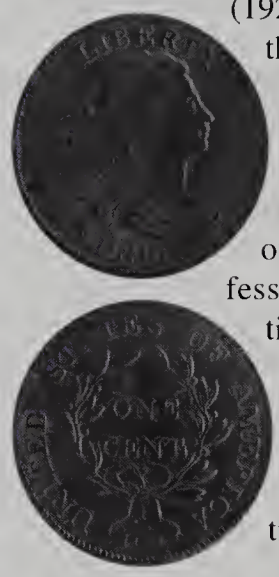
1793 Wreath cent, vine and bars edge, S. 11a (1946.143.25, gift of George H. Clapp). 27 mm.



1796 Liberty Cap cent, S. 87 (1946.143.242, gift of George H. Clapp). 29.2 mm.

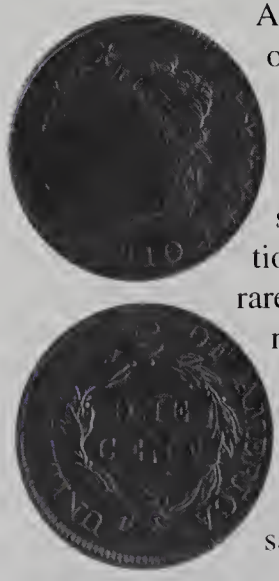
In recent years, most of the coins have been recovered in an effort that continues today. One of the most important of these pieces is the beautiful uncirculated Clapp specimen of the 1793 wreath cent with vine and bars edge, Sheldon 11a, which was formerly from the E. S. Sears Collection (1925). Others include the handsome C. E. Clapp (1924) example of Sheldon 87, a 1796 Liberty Cap piece; a 1797 Sheldon 137, formerly from the R. D. Book Collection (1930); a lovely 1803 Sheldon 247 purchased from the St. Louis Stamp & Coin Co. (in 1924); and an 1810 Sheldon 283, also formerly owned by C. E. Clapp (1924), which passed through the hands of several major dealers and collectors.

1797 Draped Bust cent, S. 137 (1946.143.365, gift of George H. Clapp). 29 mm.



1803 Draped Bust cent, S. 247 (1946.143.709, gift of George H. Clapp). 28.3 mm.

A number of outstanding professional numismatists and scholars identified these coins and assisted with their recovery—particularly our indefatigable Honorary Trustee Eric P. Newman, who heads the recovery program. The ANS sincerely acknowledges and appreciates their help, and the cooperation of the unaware collectors and dealers through whose hands the coins passed.

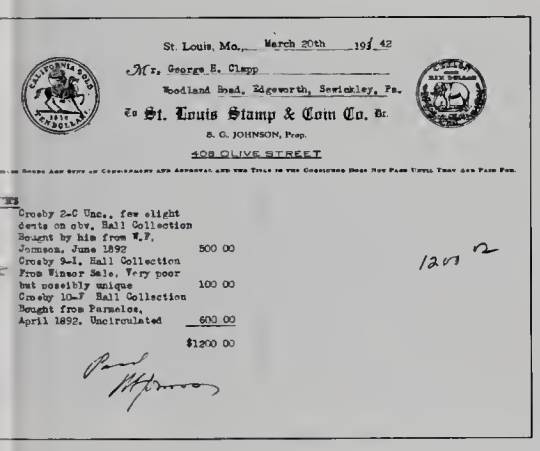


1810 Capped Bust cent, S. 283 (1946.143.809, gift of George H. Clapp). 28.7 mm.

An additional observation that I have been pleased to make is the presence, still in the collection today, of three rare coins that were not stolen! These pieces, for which we have Clapp's original March 20, 1942, bill of sale from Burdette G. Johnson's St. Louis Stamp & Coin Stamp Co., were not "switched" and

1793 Chain cent, with AMERICA, NC.1; Crosby 2-C (his plate coin); purchased by Hall from W. H. Johnson in June, 1892 (ANS 1946.143.11, gift of George H. Clapp). 27.1 mm. Finest of three known.

1793 Wreath cent, vine and bars edge; NC.5; Crosby 10-F; purchased by Hall from the Parmelee collection, April, 1892; formerly owned by Frossard (12/1881) and Le Gras (ANS 1946.143.23, gift of George H. Clapp). 26.9 mm. Unique.



St. Louis, Mo., March 20th 1942

Mr. George H. Clapp
Woodland Road, Edgeworth, Sewickley, Pa.

To St. Louis Stamp & Coin Co. Dr.

S. C. JOHNSON, Prop.

408 OLIVE STREET

Crosby 2-C Unc., few slight dents on obv. Hall Collection Bought by him from W.F. Johnson, June 1892	500 00
Crosby 9-I. Hall Collection From Winsor Sale. Very poor but possibly unique	100 00
Crosby 10-F Hall Collection Bought from Parmelee, April 1892. Uncirculated	600 00
	$1200 00

1200 2

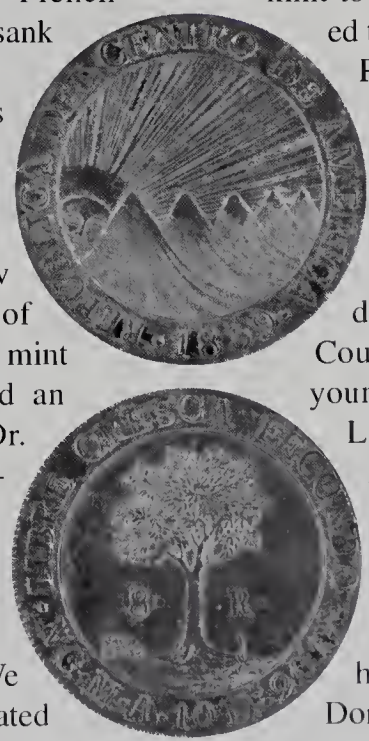
Receipt for the three 1793 large cents purchased for $1200 from the St. Louis Stamp and Coin Co. March 20, 1942, by George H. Clapp. 216 x 186 mm.

purloined by Sheldon, probably because he was unable to obtain corresponding specimens to insert! They are three key 1793 rarities, all from the famous former collection of Virgil Brand and previously that of Dr. Thomas Hall. The varieties were not listed by Sheldon.

Ancient, Medieval, Modern and Latin American Coins

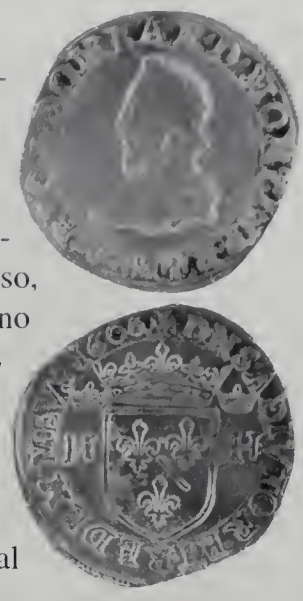
With our collections and Library closed, less research activity has been possible and our requests for services have been fewer, but there is always interest in the Society's famous cabinet. Herman Vogle inquired about Medieval German bracteates. Santiago F. Agardy asked for advise about researching an inherited collection of miscellaneous coins. Roger deWardt Lane contacted us about several medals which he had recently found and wished to donate to the Society. Paul Bosco acquired a collection of lead strikings from the dies of the famous 18th- and early 19th-century counterfeiter Carl Becker, and generously invited the Society to select as donations any examples of pieces not already represented in the cabinets. (Among these were several which are useful additions to the collection, including a couple of genuine Roman coins and one or two sealings not recorded in the Becker corpus.) Stuart P. Feld and Allison E. Smith, of Hirschl & Adler Galleries, inquired about help in identifying a French silver *écu aux huit* L of 1725. The piece was seemingly from the mint of La Rochelle and probably one of the considerable number of coins of this issue which were recovered as salvage from the wreck of *Le Chameau* ("The Camel"), a vessel carrying payment for French troops in Canada when it sank in that year.

Julio Sánchez Rosales sought information about a 1775 coin of Carlos III is from the great mint of Potosi, in what is now Bolivia, an 1822 of Fernando VII is from the mint of Madrid, in Spain, and an 1890-O US dollar. Dr. Alexander Siegel contacted us in connection with his research on the 1838 Guatemalan 8 Reales, of which there is no example in the ANS collection. We do, however, have one dated 1839/7-MA which does appear to be genuine. This coin is about uncirculated and weighs 27.015g



Central American Republic (Guatemala), AR 8 Reales, 1839/7-MA (ANS 0000.999.31127). 38.9 mm.

ANS coins are referenced in a newly-issued publication, *Numismatique de Doubes*, by Jean-Paul Divo (Corzoneso, Switzerland: Fiorino d'Oro, 2004). This very attractively produced reference covers all the coins of the last French feudal domain, dating from 1470 to 1674. The Society has a very presentable run of the coins (78 pieces) from this small territory along the left bank of the river Saone, north of Lyon. They were minted in the capital city of Trévoux, which gave its titular name to the rulers (as Seigneurs de Trévoux) until after the rise of its Bourbon family to power in the latter half of the 16th century. At this time the mint town was elevated to the head of a Principality lasting until turned over to the crown in 1762 by Louis-Charles de Bourbon, Count of Eu, younger son of Louis-Auguste, Duke of Maine, the illegitimate son of King Louis XIV.

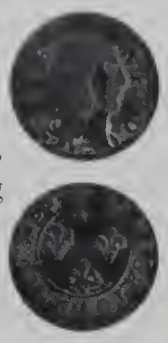


Dombes, Henri I de Montpensier (1592-1608), AR Teston, 1606 (ANS 1954.29.13, gift of the Institut Français aux Etats-Unis). Divo 88. For reasons unstated, Divo call this the second type of 1606 although it resembles the issue of 1605 rather than that of 1607, which matches the so-called first type. 30.7 mm.

Dombes, Gaston (1627-1650), AE double Tournois, 1640 (ANS 1934.999.827, purchase from the former collection of Ole P. Eklund). Divo 205 var. 20.6 mm.

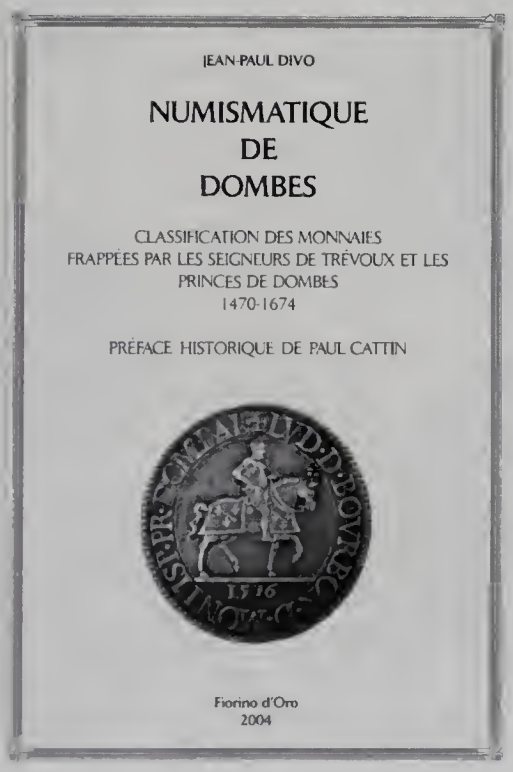
The colorful history of Dombes is reflected in its interesting coins. The state followed Roman law rather than that of the

kingdom of France, as evidenced by the mintages of Gaston d'Orleans (1606-1650, the third son of King Henri IV) for instance, indicating the status of the ruler as "Prince Usufruct." Gaston was obliged to marry his cousin Marie de Bourbon-Montpensier, and upon her death enjoyed the "fruits" of rule until the majority of their daughter, the celebrated Anne-Marie-Louise, La Grande Mademoiselle. With a forward by Michel Dhénin, the Conservateur Général of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and a 32-page beautifully illustrated historical introduction by Paul Cattin, and including maps, engravings and dynastic charts and excellent photographs, the book is everything one could hope for although it does show signs of too-great haste in its proofing and copy editing. Several examples of ANS coins from Dombes will serve to reveal something of the variety of issues involved.



Dombes, Gaston (1627-1650), AE denier, 1650/49 (ANS 0000.999.32108). This unique specimen, not cited by Divo, underscores a period of uncertainty at the time of a transition in types at the Trévoux mint.(cf. Divo 211-213), for which our understanding is inadequate. 16.6 mm.

Dombes, Anne-Marie-Louise de Montpensier (1650-1693), AV Sequin d'or (Zecchino), n.d., in imitation of a 17th century Venetian gold piece (ANS 1954.237.417, bequest of Herbert E Ives). Divo 219. 21.3 mm.



Cover of *Numismatique de Dombes*, by Jean-Paul Divo. 161 x 230 mm.

United States Departmental Questions

Among those who have been in touch concerning Americana, Drew Golfin was researching a 1776 counterfeit, possibly American British halfpenny (Breen 1008). John C. Crawford contacted us to ask about an 1892 cent while Wayne Moquin was curious about an apparently double-stamped 1997 cent. Mike Welch inquired about an 1898, and Enrique R. Devesa, a 1902 Liberty Head "V" Nickel. Ahmad Saleh was curious about silver dollars of 1885 and 1921 and Julio Sánchez Rosales wanted information about the 1890 dollar of the New Orleans mint. Freddy M. Pansi wanted to know about an 1887 $5 gold piece and Javier A. Romero Moreno, about an 1894-dated half eagle. Carlos Figueredo inquired about an 1847 eagle; E. M. Cheng, regarding a 1924 $20 gold piece. Harry Baker was interested in the Columbian Exposition half dollar of 1893, while Edward Esposito was researching a white metal 1863 patriotic Civil War token.

For investigating American coal company and railroad scrip, I advised Molly A. Gallagher, Research Intern at the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, about our on-line data bases at www.numismatics.org. The Harry Bass Foundation's "NIP" Project search engine key word search combs the pertinent literature. One can search our own "Library" keyword database to see what we may be able to provide. There are an abundance of general articles as well as studies of particular issues and issuers. To the extent that it has been catalogued onto the data base, our numismatic collection can be accessed on-line in the "Coins" keyword search database (in the US Department, made of paper, there are at this time 36 entries under coal and 70 under railroad). Most of the coal-mining scrip in the ANS cabinet is from the collection of Henry C. Chitwood. The fabulous strength of the Chitwood collection, however, has yet to be realized; it lies in 2,664 metallic tokens (accession no. 1985.141) issued by the coal-mining companies, the infamous "company stores" of Depression-era lore. This is yet another area of the collection which has not yet been entered into the data-base.

Kayoko Ishizaki and Hiroko Tanaka, of Japanese Video Production, in New York City, contacted us regarding a plan to feature the idea of the United States' $10,000 bills which were once circulated in this country. The program, to be entitled "Mezamashi," is part of the news digest produced by Fuji Network, a major media network in Japan. The ANS cabinet has only one example of a $10,000 note, a 1900 Series Gold Certificate.

United States, $10,000 Gold Certificate, 1900 Series (ANS 0000.999.53027) 190 x 90 mm.

Medallic Miscellany

Our great recently-completed move to the ANS' new facilities has revealed things that we might not

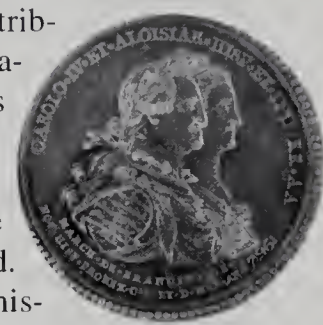
otherwise have had occasion to notice for quite some time to come. One fortunate outcome for me was encountering, in a tray in which it didn't belong, the empty individual box for a fascinating item that figures prominently in the earliest history of the medal. I did remember having seen the piece, but now its box gave us its missing provenance and some other data. This medallion is a cast lead example of one of the two medallic works that can be traced to the collection of Jean, the Duke of Berry, the acquisitive French patron of the arts who flourished in the late 14th and early 15th centuries (see *The Currency of Fame, Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*, edited by Stephen K. Scher, New York: Harry N. Abrams and the Frick Collection, 1994, pp. 32-37). These pieces (medals of the Roman emperors Constantine and Heraclius, two heroes of Christendom in the Middle Ages) once purported actually to be works from ancient times, but were surely products of a Burgundian or Northern French school of ca. 1400.

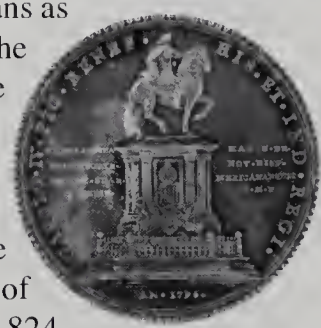
The Heraclius medallion, represented by the ANS specimen, shows on its obverse a crowned portrait of the emperor wringing (or fondling) his beard, with Greek and Latin legends. The types relate to his status as the recoverer of the true cross after it had been taken by the Persians.The reverse seemingly features a version of a legendary incident from AD 630, when, as the emperor was about to enter Jerusalem in triumph with the cross, the gate was suddenly blocked with rubble and an angel of the Lord appeared to say that when Jesus had entered the gate, he came humbly. Heraclius then wept, removed his coat and shoes, and took up the cross, upon which the gate miraculously restored itself. The inscriptions carry the emperor's protocols in accordance with 14th century usage and liturgical references to him and the legends about him although the Greek is clumsily rendered and unclear.

France, Heraclius Commemorative PB medallion, artist unknown, ca. 1400 (ANS 1941.95.1, gift of J. M. Kingsley, Jr.) 92.9 mm.

David Rondinelli contacted us in connection with researching an interesting early Mexican medal, of which we have examples in the collection. In 1796, the Marquis of Branciforte, the 53rd Viceroy of New Spain (Mexico), requested and received permission from Spanish King Charles (Carlos) IV to erect an equestrian statue in the king's honor. A colossal wood and plaster model statue was unveiled to much fanfare in the main plaza of Mexico City, the Zocalo, on December 9, 1796—the birthday of Queen Maria Luiza. This event was commemorated on an attractive medal, the dies for which were sculpted by Emmanuel Tolsa and engraved by Geronimo Antonio Gil.

Reportedly, 3,000 silver medals were distributed upon this occasion. Seven years later, the fine one-piece bronze casting of the statue was installed. Referred to dismissively by Mexicans as *El Caballito* ("the little horse"), the monument was moved, for its safety, to the grounds of the University of Mexico in 1824. Moved again to its present location on the Paseo de la Reforma, the main thoroughfare of Mexico City, in 1852, El Caballito remains an impressive landmark to this day. The principal reference work for items of this kind, from which the information here has been drawn, is *Medals of Mexico*, Vol. 1, by Frank W. Grove (Guadalajara: the author, 1970).





Mexico, Spanish Viceroyalty of New Spain, Charles IV, AR Commemorative medal, 1796 (ANS 1911.105.275, gift of Greenwood). Grove C-268. 33 mm.

Many sections of the collection in our fine new vault await attention. As we hear from you in the future, we will certainly have occasion to make many new observations and learn ever more about the wealth of this collection that so many generous benefactors have built for the enjoyment and enlightenment of posterity. ANSM

BOOK REVIEWS

Frank L. Holt, *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. Hb. 198 pp., illus., 5 b/w pls. ISBN 0-520-23881-8. $24.95

Alexander the Great is a virtual industry unto himself. Scholars publish on average some forty new books and articles about the man every year. Now even Hollywood is getting into the act with two forthcoming films dramatizing the life of the Macedonian conqueror. With all of this academic and popular attention, one might imagine that we know all that we can know about Alexander and that another new book on the subject would be superfluous. However, Frank Holt's *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions* shows that because of the sources and the foibles of modern historians in many ways Alexander is unknowable and remains a man of mystery. One important and independent piece of evidence for an event in the king's career survives in a series of remarkable silver medallions that began to appear in the late nineteenth century. The adventure of their discovery and the quest to properly interpret them as clues to understanding the real Alexander form the main subject of the present work.

The first chapter (pp. 1-22) is an excellent condensed biography of Alexander the Great from his youth in Macedonia to his untimely death in Babylon after conquering what was then most of the known world. However, this overview of thirty years in the late fourth century BC is not simply used to introduce the reader to the man responsible for the so-called elephant medallions that are the main subject of the rest of the book. It also serves to establish Alexander as a mysterious figure constantly subject to the changing interpretations of his historians, admirers, and enemies, thus, a figure worthy of an investigation after the manner of Sherlock Holmes.

In the chapters that follow, the mystery unfolds in a pattern reminiscent of one of Holmes' most famous cases, *The Sign of the Four* (1890), in which the discovery of a peculiar document triggers an epic historical enquiry into important events on several continents before it can be properly understood and the mystery solved. Holt begins the second chapter (pp. 23-46) with the story of the discovery and travels of the Oxus Treasure, which included the first known silver medallion (the Franks medallion) bearing the types of Alexander the Great holding a thunderbolt and a battle between a cavalryman and a mounted Indian elephant. Although it is customary for most Holmsian adventures to begin with a murder, the mystery of the elephant medallions opens with the somewhat lesser crime of smuggling that ultimately brought the Oxus Treasure and the Franks medallion by a hair-raising and circuitous route from Afghanistan to India, and thence to Great Britain, where the latter was ultimately donated to the British Museum in 1887. It was first published by Percy Gardner, who recognized the identity of the figure holding the thunderbolt, but rather than connecting the elephant battle with an event from Alexander's Indian campaign, he suggested an otherwise unrecorded conflict between one of the Graeco-Bactrian kings and invading Yueh-chi tribesmen. Holt argues that while this interpretation seems laughable to modern scholars, when Gardner came up with it he was confused by circumstantial evidence, such as a "pedigree" coin of Agathocles carrying Alexander's portrait, and a belief that the medallion was struck around the same time that the hoard was closed (c. 150 BC).

Moving from the long and treacherous journey that first brought the Franks medallion to the attention of the West, in chapter three (pp. 47-67) the story continues with the great intellectual adventure that ensued following Gardiner's initial publication. While there was general agreement that the reverse type depicted a deified Alexander, there remained some question about what event the obverse elephant battle represented. Barclay Vincent Head, thought an episode from Alexander's Indian campaign more probable than Gardner's Graeco-Bactrian theory, and like many of his contemporaries sought confirmation in a textual description in the classical sources. As Holt shows, by misconstruing the Greek text of Arrian (5.18.6-7) on the battle of the Hydaspes, Head was able to make a case for the cavalryman as Taxiles (Omphis), an Indian ally of Alexander, and the elephant as the mount of the Rajah Porus. The appearance of a second specimen of the medallion in 1926 led Sir George Francis Hill to take another look at the type, arguing that similarities in dress between the cavalryman and the reverse figure of Alexander indicated that the former must represent Alexander as well. Because Hill was an early student of the technology of ancient coin production, Holt closes

this chapter with a brief digression on how coins like the elephant medallions were made, as well as the value of die studies.

Following this technical intermission, the mystery continues in chapter four (pp. 68-69) with the appearance of a third medallion in 1959 (currently on display in the ANS "Drachmas, Doubloons and Dollars" exhibit at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York) and the new round of academic enquiry that it entailed. Although by this time it was generally agreed that the combatants were Alexander and Porus, Holt shows that the pitfalls that troubled the earlier interpretations of Gardiner and Head still plagued a new group of scholars. As Gardiner willfully turned away from the context of the battle of the Hydaspes, Deena Pandey and Michael Mitchiner associated the medallion types with Porus' unlikely presence at the battle of Gaugamela (331 BC) and with Alexander's alliance with Taxiles, respectively. Salvatore Settis, on the other hand, looked to the classical sources, this time finding evidence for the typology in lines from Plautus' *Curculio* and an anecdote about Aristobulus, one of Alexander's court historians. However, the close link proposed between the medallions and these new literary references seems to have been just as illusory as the one that Head found between them and Arrian's account.

It is an unwritten rule that every good mystery must include at least a few red herrings in order to add interest to the plot and keep readers guessing until the detective can find the correct solution. The case of the elephant medallions is no different, for as Holt shows, as early as 1926 forgers were already complicating the story with their fabrications. An example of one of these forgeries, influenced in part by an early and imperfect sketch of the Franks medallion published in 1887, is illustrated in the plates (pl. 13). Nine possible forgeries in museums and private hands are detailed in an appendix at the end of the book.

In chapter five (pp. 92-116), the mystery of the elephant medallions takes a fresh and unexpected twist with the recounting of the discovery of the 1973 Iraq Hoard, which not only contained further examples of the large medallions depicting the elephant battle, but also included smaller medallions bearing two new type pairs, that of an Indian archer r./ riderless elephant r. and an Indian chariot galloping r./ elephant r. with mahout and rider. The full contents of the hoard, as variously reported by Michael Duerr, Coin Hoards 1 (1975), Martin Price, and Peter van Alfen, as well as descriptions of all published elephant medallions are listed in two appendices.

As on previous occasions, this surprising new discovery touched off a flurry of study and interpretation among numismatists and ancient historians, but Holt argues that in most cases the tendency was to resurrect old theories and to follow the traditional pattern of seeking direct confirmation from the classical sources. Thus, A.N. Oikonomides and M.C.J. Miller tried to link them to the foundation of Nicaea and Bucephala, N.G.L. Hammond to an elephant hunt, and Wilhelm Hollstein thought that they represented money paid to Alexander by Taxiles, all events recounted by ancient historians. Martin Price came to the rather implausible conclusion that the medallions were struck before the war against Porus in order to celebrate the alliance with Taxiles and express the "supposed policy of concord and community within [Alexander's] empire." The most popular recent attempt to associate the medallions with a classical text is probably the linkage of their control monograms (? and AB) to an anecdote about Xenophilus and Abulites in Plutarch (*Alex.* 68.7). This possibility was first mentioned in passing by Price but later endorsed by Andrew Stewart and Robin Lane Fox. Holt, however, raises some doubt as to why these Macedonian governors of Susa should be connected with what appears to be an explicitly Indian issue. The chapter concludes with a scathing criticism of A.B. Bosworth's view that the medallions all served to promote Alexander's megalomania and to warn others that the terrible defeats that he had inflicted upon the "outlandish and formidable" Indians could be visited upon anyone who opposed his rule. This is used as a springboard for an important digression on how the study of Alexander the Great has often tended to be hijacked by the personal opinions and theories of scholars, regardless of the evidence. The reader is left with the distinct impression that with the passage of time the medallions and Alexander himself have actually become more mysterious than when the Franks medallion first appeared in the late nineteenth century.

Lest we begin to despair that the mystery might never be solved, in the final two chapters Holt puts on his Inverness coat and deerstalker cap and applies his own deductive powers to finding a viable solution. As its title suggests, in chapter six "A Closer Look" (pp. 117-138), the author applies the detective's magnifying glass to the physical evidence of the medallions in order to begin to, "(a) determine what are the precise images on each of the denominations, drawing upon corroborative evidence whenever possible; (b) establish as reasonably as we can where the medallions were made, how many were produced, and under whose authority; and (c) interpret the function of this entire mintage as a group

in terms of its intended audience and message, learning from this what we can about the king and his contemporaries (p. 117)." The main focus in this chapter is on determining the correct description of the several medallion types. Here the author takes apart older descriptions piece by piece and reexamines the iconography of the medallions, in order to squeeze out as many details as possible from their worn surfaces. Five pages of photographic plates of the various types and two composite line drawings of a large medallion aid the discussion.

In chapter seven (pp. 139-165), Holt takes the clues gleaned from the close analysis in the preceding chapter to form a new interpretation of the medallions and their types. He argues that the most likely occasion for the issue of the elephant medallions was shortly after the battle of the Hydaspes, and that they served as commemorative pieces (*aristeia*) awarded to soldiers for distinguished service in the battle, rather than as proper coins intended for circulation. In short they were the equivalent of modern military campaign medals, except that they also had intrinsic cash value. While the idea that the medallions were presented shortly after the Hydaspes campaign is very appealing, the suggestion that their value as coinage was a secondary concern is undermined by the fact that many of the medallions show signs of wear and several even bear test marks (see pls. 8 and 12), both features that point to circulation. If they served primarily as commemorative aristeia, but only as money when their owners were low on cash of the more common variety, it seems a little surprising that there should have been so many in the Iraq Hoard (6-7 of the large medallions, 11 archer and 3 chariot medallions). Perhaps a better analogy for the medallions may be the high value coins and medallions struck as donative payments to the army by later Roman emperors. These too often carried special types, but it was expected that their recipients would spend them.

The case for a mobile military mint striking the medallions in the immediate aftermath of Alexander's victory over Porus seems plausible, considering the poor quality of the striking and the general failure to adhere to a strict weight standard. However, if Alexander did have a military mint in his train, it is a little surprising that he does not appear to have used it to issue any of his imperial coinage during the course of the campaign. We must also wonder at the wisdom of weighing down troops with such heavy tokens of honor while the projected conquest of India and the long march home lay ahead. Thus it still may be that the mint for the medallions should be sought at Susa or Babylon and that the medallions were connected to an award ceremony that took place after the return from India.

Holt convincingly argues against the typological interpretations of earlier numismatists and historians, but his own solution to the mystery of the elephant medallions ultimately turns out to be far more elemental than elementary. It also falls into the trap of trying to connect them to details in the classical texts. He argues that the types depicting Indian troops and elephants all represent forces said to have been defeated by the wet and muddy conditions created by a rainstorm on the eve of the battle of the Hydaspes. The depiction of Alexander as Zeus Keraunophoros on the large medallions was thus intended to give credit for the fortuitous rains, and hence the victory that it enabled, to the Macedonian king alone. There can be no doubt that this is an ingenious and unexpected solution to the problem, seemingly worthy of a Sherlock Holmes. Unfortunately it does not quite tie up all the loose ends.

For one thing, there is no reason to assume that the image of Alexander as Zeus must be specifically related to the natural events that occurred in connection with the battle. The ancient historians make it very clear that Alexander's obsession with his own divinity and with his relationship to Zeus began well before he had even set foot on the borders of India.

The theory of Alexander as storm-bringing Zeus is supported by numerous ancient accounts of battles influenced by divinely sanctioned storms, ranging from the torrential downpour that brought victory to the Israelites at the battle of Megiddo in the Song of Deborah to the thunderstorm that Marcus Aurelius directed against his Germanic enemies, commemorated on the Antonine Column. We would add to the list of examples by pointing out that the Achaemenid Great Kings, whom Alexander replaced, were also believed to have power over the weather. The Greek sources tell us that Darius I (Polyaen. 7.11.12) called down rain to quench the thirst of his troops and Artaxerxes II (Ctesias, *Ind.* 4) twice deflected storms by means of his sword. However, while Alexander, particularly in his role as the successor to Darius III, might seem a prime candidate for the storm god responsible for the victory at the Hydaspes, this interpretation of his image on the elephant medallions is seriously problematized by its total absence from the surviving accounts of the battle. The ancient historians mention that the noise of the storm covered the sound of Macedonian preparations for crossing the river and that the muddy conditions hampered the fighting prowess of the Indians, but none of them even hint that Alexander was rumored to have been somehow responsible for the weather. Even Pseudo-Callisthenes, who

includes such unlikely episodes as the occasion when the very waves of the sea offered Alexander obeisance, appears to have no idea that the storm on the Hydaspes was anything miraculous. Surely if Alexander had used the weather as a prop for his increasing desire for deification, we could expect at least one of the historians to have known about it. After all, he could not have done so in secret. Although the storm certainly helped the Macedonians to defeat Porus, from the perspective of the ancient historians, and presumably also that of their eyewitness primary sources, it seems not to have played the crucial role that Holt suggests.

Besides, it is not so clear that a claim of control over the storm would have gone over especially well with Alexander's troops. The monsoon conditions on the eve of the battle was a nightmare for the Macedonian troops and more than one soldier is said to have met his death through lightning strikes. It is hard to imagine Alexander, even as the Bosworthian arch-despot, intentionally taking responsibility for a natural occurrence that no doubt most of his troops would have far preferred never to have experienced at all. The heavy rains in India took a major toll on Macedonian morale and ultimately contributed to the mutiny on the Hyphasis, which forced Alexander to give up further eastern conquests. If he had claimed to invoke the storm at the battle of the Hydaspes, Alexander must have seemed a remarkable failure in his later inability to drive off the bad weather that afflicted his men.

Holt's view is further shaken by the detailed depiction of the Indian troops on the small medallions. Unlike their larger cousins, which clearly show a retreating elephant chased by Alexander on horseback, there is little indication that the Indians and elephants of the small medallions have been defeated and absolutely no sign that a storm invoked by Alexander was involved. The Indian archers are shown with longbows drawn and ready to fire, despite the fact that the muddy conditions prevented their proper anchoring. Likewise, the horses pulling the Indian chariots appear to gallop at a pace much faster than would be possible if the chariot wheels were mired in the mud. The drivers and archers who ride in the chariots also show no sign of realizing that they have been defeated by the elements. It is suggested that the types paired with the archers and chariots both indicate defeat because they depict a riderless elephant and a swiftly moving elephant with one rider looking behind him, respectively. This is based on the presumption that the men absent from the riderless elephant were killed in battle, and that the rider looking to the rear watches nervously for an unseen pursuer. But there is no evidence that the riderless elephant was ever mounted, for he lacks the rope harness depicted on other medallions and used by riders to maintain their balance on the animal's back. As for the rear facing elephant rider, it is worth noting that he is also a standard bearer and as such might be looking back to exhort Indian troops advancing behind him just as easily as he might be watching for pursuing enemies.

Because of these various problems, it is difficult to accept Holt's argument that the storm on the Hydaspes is the unifying theme for the typology of all of the elephant medallions. While his association of the medallions with the great battle against Porus is quite convincing, it might be prudent to seek a more general interpretation of the medallion types. If we do not require the iconography to be tied directly to the ancient accounts of the battle, then it may be possible to accept the depiction of elephants and Indian troops as a simple celebration of the mighty and alien forces defeated by Alexander at the edge of the known world.

Despite our doubts about some of the conclusions, there can be no question that *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions* is a gripping intellectual adventure that will appeal to those already familiar with the story and the scholarship, as well as to those new to this rare and perplexing series. The prose is accessible and artful, making the book one of the most entertaining works of scholarship that this reviewer has read in several years. We are also compelled to add that the use of Charles Darwin's theory of worms as the protective custodians of archaeological remains to connect the twists and turns of the mystery through each chapter is nothing short of brilliant. Thus we congratulate Holt, not only for offering new insight into the history and study of the elephant medallions, but also for presenting a novel approach to the writing of numismatics and ancient history for a broad audience.

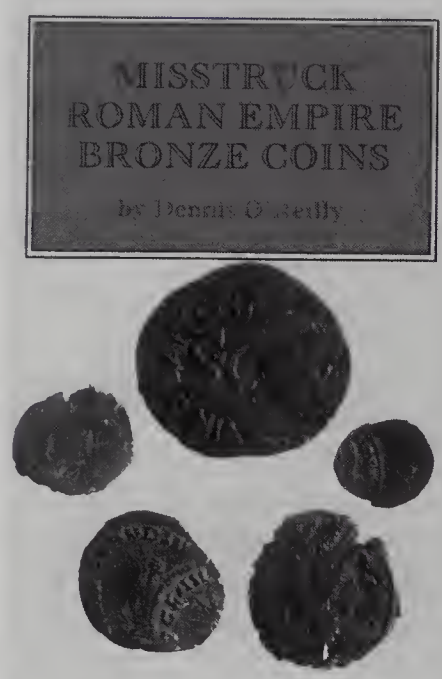
-Oliver D. Hoover

Dennis O'Reilly, *Misstruck Roman Empire Bronze Coins*, San Mateo, CA: John Jencek, 2003. Spiral bound. 55 pp. color illus. $15.00.

In ancient Rome just about everyone had his own book, almost all of which were privately published, mainly to share with friends and colleagues. Cicero had his epic poem about his own consulship, Tacitus had his histories, and Pliny the Younger had his letters. Perhaps one of the most well known examples of a Roman author privately publishing his work is that of Catullus, who had his *libellum* ("little book") of poems published so that he could offer them as a gift to his friend, the historian Cornelius Nepos.

A similar sort of grassroots publica-

tion of "little books" by and for friends has been an important staple of United States and American Colonial numismatics for decades (many an important and arcane die study that has become a cornerstone in the study of these series began its life as a private publication circulating among like-minded collectors), however, it has not generally tended to be as successful in the world of ancient numismatics. While there are some notable examples of privately produced *libella* on ancient topics, such as C. Daniel Clark's underground classic, *Speedy Identification of Early Denominationally Marked Byzantine Bronzes* (Tehachapi, CA, 1990), they are very few and far between. This situation is somewhat unfortunate because without publication it is impossible to know what material is really out there in private hands.



In the present privately published little book, Dennis O'Reilly describes and illustrates a collection of some 109 bronze and billon coins from the early Principate to the first half of the fifth century AD, all suffering from various striking errors. Just about every possible minting mistake is represented here in some form. Obverse and reverse brockages are plentiful, including an impressive provincial brockage of Caracalla's portrait (p. 9), while various degrees of double striking, centering errors, and die clashes account for the majority of the remaining material. For good measure an example of a double reverse muled as of Tiberius (*RIC* I, 82 [Rome], misdescribed as a lifetime issue of Augustus) is also included on page 2.

The method of presentation is extremely simple and straightforward. Each page illustrates two coins in full color and enlarged to twice their original size. Below each image appears a summary description including the name of the issuing emperor with reign dates, an abbreviated type description, a description of the error and the diameter of the coin. Rough values are also given as well as a catalogue reference, when possible.

Although the images are generally well photographed, it would have been helpful if further attention had been paid to the descriptions and references. The absence of numbers for the individual coins hampers the usefulness of the catalogue, while the referencing is somewhat haphazard. The *Roman Imperial Coinage* (*RIC*) volumes are used mainly for the Julio-Claudians and a few isolated third and fourth century emperors, while the bulk of the fourth century rulers are referenced by the numbers given in *Late Roman Bronze Coinages*. David Sear's *Roman Coins and their Values* (London, 1988) is used for the remainder of the coins. While Sear is fine for rough descriptions on 2x2 flip inserts, his numbers do not, nor were they ever intended to convey the same kind of detailed information as *RIC* numbers. Thus, descriptions of several coins as "variants" of, or "similar" to, those listed by Sear become tiresome very quickly, since all of the issues in question are known and fully referenced in *RIC*. The numbers provided by the more up to date *RIC* should also be preferred to those from *LRBC*.

In addition to improved referencing, the author would have been well advised to include more typological and denominational details in the descriptions as well as the metrological data. However, for the most part, the descriptions, such as they are, are correct. Only a few minor errors have crept into this catalogue of error coinages. We have already mentioned the case of the misidentified Tiberian as, above, but the majority of the remaining mistakes are misread inscriptions, some of which may be typographical, rather than reading errors. For example, the titles P(ius) F(elix) do not exist on the double struck Postumus sestertius (*RIC* V, 146 [Lugdunum]) listed on page 16, although O'Reilly restores them in his description. Likewise, the legend of a 60% off center and double struck antoninianus of Claudius II Gothicus (*RIC* V, 113 (Rome)) on page 26 is given as VIRTV[S AV]G, when in fact the inscription reads VIRTVS [AVG]VS[TI]. A 55% off center 12mm bronze coin on p. 49 is described as a SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE issue of Valentinian I despite the fact that only [...A]VG and [...R]EIPVBLI[CAE] remain of the obverse and reverse legends, respectively. Considering the small diameter and the placement of Victory's arm on the reverse it seems more likely that this is really a SALVS REIPVBLICAE AE 4 issue of Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, or Honorius with the reverse type of Victory dragging a captive to left.

Despite these criticisms, *Misstruck Roman Empire Coins* does fill a void in Roman numismatics by collecting together in one place a good sample of error coins of the imperial period. This interesting and understudied

material also serves to pose questions that may be worthy of further investigation. For example, one wonders why the fifteen errors catalogued for the period of the Julio-Claudians (5 of Augustus, 2 of Tiberius, 1 of Caligula, 2 of Claudius, and 1 of Nero), Flavians (1 of Vespasian) and the Antonines (2 of Hadrian and 1 of Antoninus Pius) are primarily limited to the copper denominations of the as and the quadrans. The orichalcum sestertius and dupondius are almost nowhere to be found. It is unclear whether this is simply a fluke of the collection, or whether the process of minting, or quality control, for orichalcum permitted fewer error coins to enter into circulation. To answer such questions in a scientific manner would require a look at a much larger group of error issues sampled from the world's major numismatic collections.

It is interesting that the only misstruck coins included in the catalogue for the Severan dynasty are three provincial issues of Caracalla (one of which can be attributed to the Macedonian mint of Stobi) and one provincial coin of Elagabalus. Admittedly this preponderance of the provincial material to the exclusion of the imperial coins should probably be considered a coincidence, but it also serves to underline the reduction of copper coin production at the imperial mints in the late second and early third centuries.

The prevalence of error coins from the later third and fourth centuries, of which O'Reilly presents some 90 examples, should probably come as little surprise, since this was a period of massive production of imperial base metal coinage in response to the persistent problem of inflation. The Roman Empire of the third century is primarily represented by base antoniniani of Gallienus (10 examples), Claudius II Gothicus (5 examples), and Probus (4 examples), while issues of Postumus (3 examples), Victorinus (6 examples), Tetricus I (5 examples), and Tetricus II (1 example) admirably represent the breakaway Gallic Empire. It is not clear to the present reviewer why a 19mm blank planchet on p. 23 has been attributed to one of the Tetrici or Claudius II. Error coins of the British usurpers Carausius (2 examples) and Allectus (2 examples) fill out the overview of mistakes at mints in the third century. It is an interesting coincidence that many of the errors appear under rulers who were especially hard pressed by inflation and who issued massive billon coinages in response. Since this process involved the almost annual recall, debasement, and recoining of older coins with higher silver content it is hardly surprising that numerous errors in striking were made. Quality is often the first thing to be sacrificed when speed and quantity are given precedence.

The frequent monetary reforms of the fourth and fifth centuries also provide a good deal of evidence for continued hasty production and poor quality control at the imperial mints. Constantine the Great and his family are very well represented: Constantine I (6 examples), Helena (1 example), Crispus (2 examples), Constantine II (4 examples), Constans (4 examples), Constantius II (8 examples). An AE 3 of Constans (cp. *RIC* VIII, 91 [Constantinople]) on p. 43 is not actually an example of a misstruck coin, but rather an example of a coin struck by an improperly engraved die. Here instead of the usual obverse inscription the die engraver inscribed DN CONSTANNS PF AVG, adding an extra letter N to the emperor's name. The post-Constantinian age is filled out mainly by three issues of Valens and the coinage of the Theodosian co-emperors Arcadius (3 examples), Honorius (2 examples), Theodosius II (1 example), and Valentinian III (1 example). It is interesting, but probably coincidental, that most of the coins from the late Roman period tend to suffer from double striking and poor centering, much more than brockage, while in the material collected for the third century and the early empire, brockage reigns supreme as the main form of striking error.

The imperfect references and lack of a numbering system will probably prevent *Misstruck Roman Empire Bronze Coins* from attaining the kind of underground reference status among Roman coin enthusiasts that some privately produced works have attained in other areas of numismatics. Nevertheless, anyone who has ever been interested in error coins, or who has ever wondered what a bad day at the Roman mint really looked like, would not be badly served to follow the same recommendation that Catullus made to Cornelius Nepos concerning his own libellum: "take and keep this little book, such as it is, and whatever it is worth." (Cat. 1.8-9).

-Oliver D. Hoover

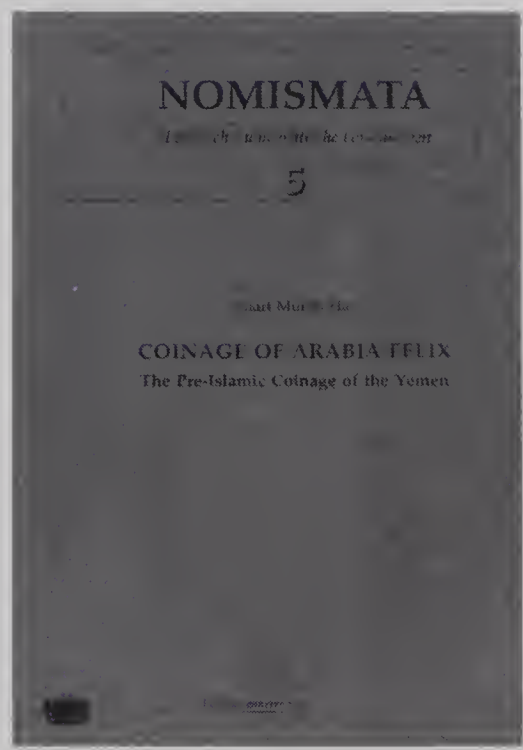
Stuart Munro-Hay, *Coinage of Arabia Felix. The Pre-Islamic Coinage of the Yemen*. Nomismata 5. Milano: Edizioni ennerre, 2003. Hb., 221 pp., 61 b/w pls. ISBN 88-87235-28-7. 80,00 Euro.

According to a popular proverb, often attributed to an anonymous Arabic source, "A book is like a garden carried around in one's pocket." If this is a true statement, then Stuart Munro-Hay's long-announced *Coinage of Arabia Felix. The Pre-Islamic Coinage of the Yemen* should be expected to represent the work of an ambitious gardener making the attempt to transform a jungle of obscurity and confusion into an organized and rational formal garden.

In the first part of the introduction, "The Study of South Arabian

Coinage" (pp. 17-24), Munro-Hay introduces us to previous stewards of his numismatic garden and their various attempts to sort out the thorny issues of interpretation that have bedeviled the study of South Arabian coinage, from the pioneering days of De Longpérier and Schlumberger in the nineteenth century down to the present. This sketch of the last 150 years of South Arabian numismatic studies is followed by an extremely succinct historical outline (pp. 25-28) of the four major kingdoms of Saba', Qataban, Himyar, and Hadhramawt, teased from the evidence of the few surviving Greek and Latin sources and South Arabian inscriptions. A new king list for the rulers of Saba', Qataban, Himyar and Hadhramawt also appears on pp. 220-221. The haziness of the literary and documentary record, as well as the divergence of scholarly opinion regarding chronology, already reveals the potential of the coinage to help sharpen the historical picture, while simultaneously underlining the difficulties of placing it in its appropriate context. With regard to the instances where dates are taken from K.A. Kitchen's remarkable *Documentation for Ancient Arabia* (Liverpool, 2000), it should be stressed, however, that these are very approximate and cannot be taken as secured. Also, the addition of a map to this section would have been highly desirable.

The coins themselves are introduced in two main sections. In the first, "The Coinage and Its Characteristics" (pp. 29-40), the author primarily focuses on the epigraphy of the coinage, including the interpretation of 'mint' names and monograms, as well as the divine and royal symbols that often appear on the coins. It is plausibly suggested that place names like RYDN (Raydan), HRB (Harib) and SQR (Shaqir) that appear on some issues were primarily intended to identify



issuing states and not necessarily mints.

While dealing with the many monograms that appear on the coins – arguably one of the most important aspects of the whole coinage – Munro-Hay provides the reader with a useful but rather general overview in which only a few of the monograms are actually interpreted. In discussing the tricky question of the 'cursive legend,' which appears on imitations of both Athenian 'Old' and 'New Style' coinage, Munro-Hay at first questions neither the reading SHR HLL, nor G.F. Hill's proposal that the change from 'Old' to 'New' Style imitations took place under one ruler (*BMC Arabia*, p. liii), thus arriving at the rather untenable solution of attributing these Sabaean issues to a Qatabanian ruler, whose dates (at least according to Kitchen) are too early to have issued 'New Style' imitations. It is only in a later section (pp. 46-47) that he takes the discussion further, introducing what may possibly be clues for understanding this enigma: an 'archaizing' use of the 'mukarrib' symbol (as in an inscription of king Dhamar'alay Watar Yuhan'im). Also, the composition of the Sanaa Hoard (1879), which favors a close link between all the various 'New Style' imitations (1.11, 1.13-1.16), marks them as very separate issues from the 'Old Style' imitations, and seems to require a new reading of the inscription. However, it should be noted here that neither of the two 'Old Style' coins of type 1.7i mentioned in footnote 210 actually bear the 'curved sign.' Additionally, the 'mysterious' BM coin of type 1.8iii is almost certainly a fraction of type 1.7.

Perhaps the most important part of this section is the commentary on symbols, such as the 'staff and D,' the 'curved sign,' and the 'oblong sign,' representing royal titles and the quasi-national deities of the South Arabian kingdoms. The proper understanding of these obscure emblems permits the linkage of several issues and the placement of series in their appropriate geopolitical contexts. Unfortunately, the author does not touch upon the HL monogram so prominently displayed on Qatabanian coins. The discussion is supplemented by a valuable chart on pp. 89-108 that lists all inscriptions and symbols known from the coins in the main catalogue.

The real meat for numismatists and ancient historians comes in the second section, "History and Development of the Coinage" (pp. 41-58). Here, through the use of new hoard and typological evidence, as well as new insight into inscriptions and symbolism, Munro-Hay embarks upon the work of pruning away the overgrowth of old interpretations, while preparing the ground for more fertile enquiry into the chronological and historical problems of South Arabian coinage. Nevertheless, a mere 18 pages of text on such a vast and complex subject cannot be expected to answer all questions and solve all problems. As in the catalogue (see below), here too, the author is torn between a desire to

group and discuss the coins according to the issuing state or according to typological criteria.

At the beginning of this section, Munro-Hay makes the intriguing suggestion that the 'Old Style' Athenian imitations (1.1i-iv) of the fourth-third centuries BC, traditionally considered Sabaean in origin, are actually from Qataban. To this end he cites the coins of the recent al-Surayrah hoard, which included imitations bearing the Qatabanian HL monogram and sometimes the name of the Qatabanian king Yad'ab Dhubyan as well as coins lacking both this monogram and name (pp. 42-43). While the new HL and royal issues must certainly be from Qataban, the transference of the type 1.1 coins lacking monograms from Saba' to Qataban should perhaps be taken with some caution since it rests heavily on an argument *ex silentio*: The coins cannot be from Saba' because they display no Sabaean symbolism. Of course, at the same time these issues also lack any obvious Qatabanian symbolism. More importantly, Munro-Hay here seems to overlook the continuous use of one and the same peculiar weight standard for all coins throughout types 1.1 to 1.16 as well as the similarity in fabric between all the (typologically identical) 'Old Style' imitations struck to this standard. Taken as a whole, these various series, through their intermittent or regular use of the 'staff and D' and 'curved' symbols, betray clear signs of a Sabaean origin. It is regrettable that a single Sabaean standard unit in the Berlin cabinet, tentatively (but wrongly) attributed to Hadhramawt because of the assumed legend SQR, is repeatedly mentioned (on pp. 62 and 114), but not illustrated (for a rather blurred image of this coin, see J.N. Svoronos, *Les monnaies d'Athènes* [Munich, 1926], pl. 111, 50).

We should also be a little cautious about the idea that Qatabanian coins imitating Athenian issues of the fifth century BC (1.0a.2) should have chronological precedence over those based on fourth century models. After all, they are linked by their HL monograms to imitations based on fourth century prototypes (1.0a.4-1.0aii). Fifth and fourth century Athenian coins appear to have been used side by side as models for the imitative Philisto-Arabian and Samarian coinages of the fourth century.

In discussing the imitations of Athenian 'New Style' tetradrachms (1.13i-1.16iv), including both long-haired head and the succeeding 'Augustan' head obverse types, Munro-Hay challenges the traditional view that they were struck by the kings of Himyar. Instead, he convincingly argues that these coins are more likely to have been struck in neighboring Saba' because of their use of the so-called 'curved sign,' a symbol representing the Sabaean deity Almaqah, and the absence of explicitly Himyarite symbols. In light of this reattribution, the author also raises the possibility that the 'New Style' imitations with 'cursive' script (1.11i-ii), usually attributed to the Qatabanian mukarrib Shahir Hilal, may also have been struck in Saba', perhaps under Dhamar'alay Watar Yuhan'im.

It is suggested that the model for the longhaired laureate head used as an obverse type for the imitation Athenian New Style silver coinage (Types 1.13i-iv-1.14ii, 1.14.iv) may be derived from the archaizing head of Apollo employed on the denarii of the Roman Republican moneyers L. and C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (p. 44). While this is not impossible, the argument that the denarii of L. Calpurnius Piso somehow counterbalanced a supposed reduction in Athenian New Style tetradrachm production in 100-86 BC, and were therefore placed in a special position to influence South Arabian typology (p. 45), cannot be taken seriously in light of the revised chronology for New Style coinage (see now H. Mattingly, "The Beginning of Athenian New Style Silver Coinage," *NC* 150 (1990), pp. 67-72 for the beginning of the New Style in 164/3 BC, not 186 or 168 as given by Munro-Hay on p. 45) and the fact that the Roman denarius was never a particularly common denomination in the Near East, even in the Imperial period. If the inspiration for the long-haired head type did indeed originate outside of South Arabia, a more likely source may be the coinage of the Nabataean Arabs, northern cousins and trading partners of the South Arabian peoples. Beginning with Aretas IV (9 BC-AD 40) and continuing into the reign of Rabbel II (AD 70-106), Nabataean coinage regularly carried ruler portraits depicting the king with long hair and wearing a laurel wreath (for examples, see Y. Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins* (Jerusalem, 1975). Such a parallel would also be commensurate with Munro-Hay's desire to downdate the series to the first century BC/AD.

Munro-Hay follows C. Robin ("Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish, fils d'Abyasa', mukarrib du Hadramawt," *Raydan* 6 [1994]) in attributing the 'bucranium' (more likely an antelope or ibex head) series (2.1-2.18a-civ) to Saba', again based on the presence of the 'curved sign,' and in dating them to the first or second century AD. Again, however, no attempt is made to interpret the monograms on this series. His identification of the longhaired head coinages bearing the names 'MDN BYN and 'MDN YHQBD as issues of the same 'Amdan, king of Saba' and Dhu-Raydan, but using different epithets to emphasize his authority over Saba' and Himyar, respectively, is also heavily indebted to Robin (see

" 'Amdan Bayyin Yuhaqbid, roi de Saba' et de Du-Raydan," in *Études Sud-Arabes, Receuil offert à Jacques Ryckmans* [Louvain, 1991]). New and important, however, are some of the attempts to link other rulers named on the royal coinage with kings known from lapidary inscriptions. For example, the author struggles with the identity of the ruler DMR'LY DBYN who struck coins naming the Qatabanian royal castle of Harib (HRB) (3.15i, 3.18), but is not a known king of Qataban. However, he ultimately arrives at the conclusion that the later second century king of Himyar, Dhamar'alay Yuhabir, is the most probable (pp. 55-56). Unlike other known rulers named Dhamar'alay, Yuhabir's Himyarite origin is well established. He also seems an excellent candidate because he ruled during the collapse of Qatabanian power, which might have given him the opportunity to claim authority in Harib. Likewise, the KRB'L YHN'M named on some royal coins (3.16i) marked RYDN (Raydan) is understood as Karib'il Watar Yuhan'im I, a first century AD king of Saba' and Dhu-Raydan. If this is correct, then it may be that he should be considered the originator of the RYDN royal coinage.

With the exception of a brief overview of the historical problems relating to the fall of Qataban and the rise of Hadhramawt (pp. 49-50), there is little detailed discussion of the extensive series of Hadhrami bronze coins in the introduction. This noticeable absence is alleviated by an addenda section (pp. 59-64), largely distilling the discussion of these coins from recent articles by 'U. Aydarus and A.V. Sedov.

Munro-Hay's proposed chronology for all the South Arabian coin series is laid out in tabular form on pp. 82-88, allowing the user to see at a glance what are proposed to be contemporary issues. This chart and the following type catalogue (pp. 111-198) require a few words with respect to the peculiar system of classification. Where one would expect the coins to be arranged by issuing authority, Munro-Hay instead classes them according to their typology (with the strange exception of Hadhramawt). Thus, some 90 types are detailed in five classes (Imitation Athenian, 'Bucranium,' Royal, Hadhramawt bronze, and Miscellaneous), which are further subdivided into subtypes, variants and denominations. As most readers will be unfamiliar with the complex subject, a more traditional arrangement might have been more helpful, bearing in mind that despite the interwoven character of some of the series, South Arabian coinage is not beyond such an accepted approach. We are left with the impression that the typological classification system, already adopted by Munro-Hay in previous works at a time when these classes may have roughly corresponded with some of the issuing authorities, is still maintained despite the modifications dictated by the appearance, in 1994, of the al-Surayrah Hoard (i.e. containing a sizeable and hitherto unknown Qatabanian coinage struck to the Attic standard). Leaving aside the overly cumbersome nature of the catalogue numbering system (Who likes to refer to a coin as 'Type 3.4ciib'?), the system has little flexibility for accommodating new types (a point already revealed by the insertion of the early Qatabanian series as Type 1.0) and is not always practical. For example, the denominations of 'Old Style' imitations with identical monograms are assigned very different type numbers such as 1.4i8 and 1.4ii1 (a unit and its corresponding half) or 1.4i5 and 1.4iii2 (a unit and its corresponding quarter). Even with the chosen classification system, it might have been a little more helpful if the Imitation Athenian class had been broken up into several classes in order to clearly mark the division between 'Old Style' (1.0.2-1.9a) and 'New Style' (1.11i-1.12iv, 1.13i-1.16a) imitations, as well as the cornucopia gold (1.12ai-1.12av – some further discussion of the place of these remarkable series in relation to the imitation Athenian issues would have been worthwhile). The descriptions given under the type headings are somewhat cursory, but the additional remarks under each type often contain useful references to other known specimens not illustrated in the plates. An additional inconvenience comes with the fact that the plate coins can only be traced back to the chart and type catalogue with difficulty. One is forced to read through the list of photographs and drawings (pp. 71-81) and then work backwards to match images with catalogue entries.

A number of coins described in the main section of the type catalogue and illustrated on the plates are not South Arabian and thus do not fall within the scope of this book. App. 5, fig. 50, and App. 10, fig. 2, although unusual Athenian imitations, are unlikely to be South Arabian. Fig. 25 is a drachm of uncertain North Arabian origin, and the same has to be said of figs. 383 and 384 (the relevant article on these last coins by F. Bron and A. Lemaire, "Pseudo-Athéniennes avec légende araméenne LBLT et monnaie BLT en Arabie du sud," *Transeuphratène* 10 (1995), pp. 45-56, is omitted from Munro-Hay's otherwise excellent bibliography which covers all publications up to 1999). Fig. 423 is in fact a Seleucid imitation from Commagene (see O. Hoover, "Notes on Some Imitation Drachms of Demetrius I Soter from Commagene," *AJN* 10 (1998), pp. 71-94) and has nothing to do with South Arabia. The Alexander imitations illustrated by figs. 367-369

(described as type 1.10.4, where Munro-Hay follows the somewhat outdated chronology proposed by Robin in 1974, obviously unaware of Callot, "Les monnaies dites 'arabes' dans le nord du Golfe arabo-persique à la fin du IIIe siècle avant notre ère," *Failaka* [1990], pp. 221-240, who convincingly argued for closer dates of all these issues within the third century BC), and their later imitations (App. 2, fig. 94-317 743, and App. 6, fig. 67) were actually struck in North East Arabia.

In addition to the main series of South Arabian coinage, a final miscellaneous class is included in the catalogue in order to cover anomalous coins (5.1, 5.4a-5.4d) that are not easily inserted into the other classes, issues that properly belong to the Islamic period (5.2), and demonstrable forgeries (3.2ai-3.2bi and 3.4i). However, a close look at several of these miscellaneous coins, suggests that they are not in fact South Arabian issues at all. Hill already thought that the 'Himyarite' letters described by Casanova in 1893 on three copper fulus of the Umayyad Caliphate with Standing Caliph type (5.2 with figs. 253-255) might have been misread Kufic Arabic inscriptions. Although Munro-Hay's commentary tends to agree with Hill, it is clear that he is torn on the subject and keeps the possibility of South Arabian readings open. A greater familiarity with modern studies of the coinage of the early Umayyad period would have erased any doubts about the correctness of Hill's position. Fig. 254, carrying letters read as South Arabian SN' and a monogram resolved as South Arabian B and F, is a known issue of Harran in the province of al-Jazira (*SICA* 1.687). The letters are actually the Greek numeral IS (16), probably representing the coin's qirat weight while the monogram is also Greek (see S. Album, "Islamic conquerors adopted local Byzantine coinage," *The Celator* [April 1988]). The monogram read as South Arabian WTR and its accompanying 'triangle flanked by circles' symbol on fig. 255 are in fact, perfectly good Kufic Arabic inscriptions naming the issuing mint as Ma'arrat Misrin in Jund Qinnasrin (cf. *SICA* 1.674-678).

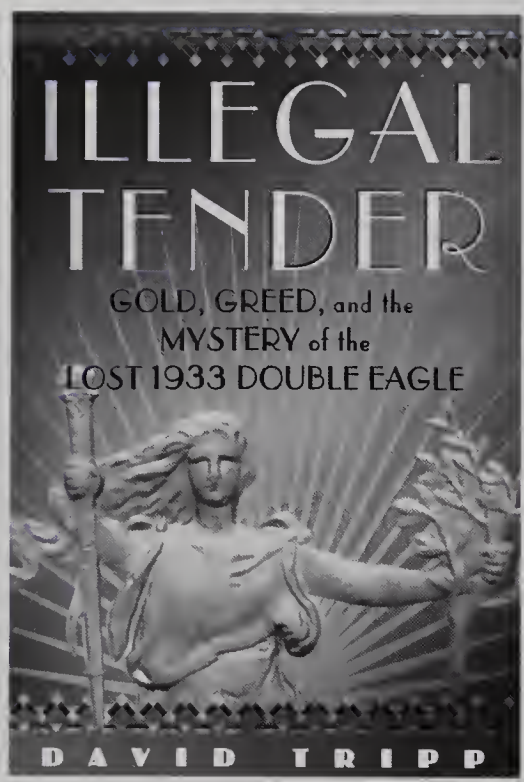
The 61 photographic plates that accompany the text are generally of very high quality and will certainly serve as a treasury of images for the future study of South Arabian coinage. These plates also include beautiful illustrations, often enlarged, of coins listed in eleven appendices (pp. 199-219) which follow the type catalogue, containing all known South Arabian coins in the major British and German public collections (British Museum, Ashmolean Museum, Munich Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde and Munich Staatliche Münzsammlung) as well as several important private collections, and coins from the al-Surayrah and Sanaa hoards. It is hard to overestimate the boon that Munro-Hay has provided to students of the series by collecting so much South Arabian illustrative material in one place and in such good quality. However, the arrangement of individual images on plates V to XVII is more than baffling. There seems to have been no attempt to arrange the illustrations in accordance with the order of types in the catalogue. Thus, for example, in plate IX, a miscellaneous class coin of the Islamic period (fig. 255) precedes bronze issues of Hadhramawt (figs. 256-257 and 259-260) and a forgery of the royal series (fig. 258), followed by 'bucranium' coins (figs. 264-284). It is also somewhat peculiar that the images of coins from various national and private collections are relegated to plate appendices, rather than integrated with the rest of the material. This arrangement is unnecessary and confusing for those who want to visualize the development of individual series in accordance with numismatic methodology. Despite its many illustrations, the book is certainly not a corpus, and one may therefore question the utility of illustrating so many coins of common single types as is the case with the al-Surayrah hemidrachms, many 'New Style' imitations, 'bucranium' coins and issues of Amdan Bayyin. It is also unclear to the present reviewers why so many reverse images (primarily 'bucranium' and royal types) have been rotated in the plates (obviously not intended to visually indicate die axes, and thus not serving any purpose). One also wonders why, in the case of Appendix 2, precious 11 plates are devoted to huge enlargements of very common and altogether badly preserved coins. Finally, the scale of enlargements and (occasionally) reduced images is not indicated.

As we have seen, a number of problems plague the jungle of information that is *Coinage of Arabia Felix*. In most cases, these could have been removed with just a little more effort invested into methodology and structure, thereby increasing the work's value as a handbook. Still, there can be little question that it represents a landmark in the study of South Arabian coinages and, for those sufficiently diligent, will provide a material basis for further work on the money and history of the ancient Yemen.

-Oliver D. Hoover and Martin Huth

David Tripp, *Illegal Tender: Gold, Greed, and the Mystery of the Lost 1933 Double Eagle*. Free Press, New York 2004, ISBN 0-7432-4574-1. $26.

Many numismatists might wonder whether there is anything more to say about the 1933 Double Eagle. Ever since the coin resurfaced in the 1990s, the astounding story surrounding this coin has become well known



and is a topic of much debate in certain circles. I was therefore surprised to find much in this book, written by ANS Fellow David Tripp, that I did not know. I have always felt a somewhat personal interest in the 1933 Double Eagle, not least as one of the protagonists in the story is a relative of mine. And since the mysterious owner of the coin has loaned it to the ANS for display in our exhibition at the Federal Reserve Bank, I have told the story of gold and greed to many admiring visitors.

In twenty-one chapters the book gives an account of the Double Eagle series, from its beginnings in 1905 when President Roosevelt asked Saint Gaudens to redesign the American coinage, to 2002 when the sole 1933 example sold at Sotheby's New York for almost $7.6 million. The story of the 1933 Double Eagle is enthralling: it escaped the melting pot when the US came off the gold standard, and subsequently dodged the Secret Service; it became part of the collections of King Faroukh of Egypt, disappeared after his deposition, and finally emerged in the hands of a London dealer in the mid-1990s when he was arrested at the Waldorf Hotel in New York City. One of the most amusing parts of this book is the account of the legal wrangling between Stephen Fenton, the London dealer, and the US government. Here we are introduced to a part of the story that few people know. Tripp had access to all the relevant documents and presents a fascinating picture of how a young lawyer fought this case on behalf of the English dealer. After the case was settled, the coin was given to Sotheby's and Stack's for auction, which is the focus of the final installment of this story. Here many well known coin dealers, collectors, US Mint employees and others appear, described by Tripp in loving, often humorous detail. The author does not even spare himself (Sotheby's coin department consisted of "a long-tenured and beleaguered consultant who habitually wore red socks").

This is surely one of the most enjoyable numismatic books that I have read in a long time. More like an Agatha Christie mystery than a history book, much of the action has been fictionalized. Dialogues are common, which makes one wonder whether this all happened in this particular way: "As Fenton stared at the coin in dazzled awe, de Clermont asked, 'What do you think?' 'Wonderful' It was a breathless, whispered reply." What is perhaps most appealing is this popular approach of this book. Numismatic books tend to be written for that small group of initiated enthusiasts with jargon used without restraint, which makes them virtually inaccessible to the general public. While this book is popularly accessible, it still is unquestionably a scholarly effort; the book is heavily footnoted (almost 30 pages are appended in the end section), which allows the reader to check much of the sources or theories. In all this is an enthralling, convincing, and, best of all, a page turning account of this most interesting coin.

-Ute Wartenberg Kagan

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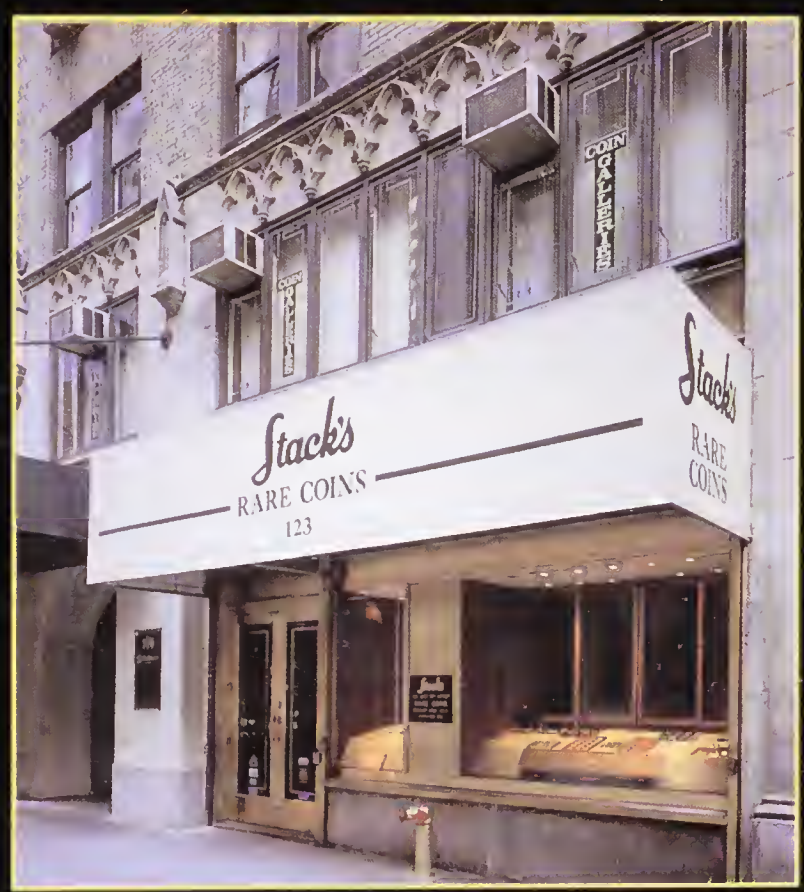

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